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CONTENTS:

PAGE.

1.—Japanese Patent Medicines. *By W. M. Royds* 1

2.—Japanese Medical Folk-Lore. *By Ernest W. Clement* 15

3.—The Ten Buddhistic Virtues. *By John Laidlaw Atkinson* ... 33

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JAPANESE

PATENT MEDICINES.

BY

W. M. ROYDS,

Of H. B. M.'s Consular Service in Japan.

1907.

CONTENTS.

1.—History.

2.—Methods of Selling and Advertising.

3.—Number of Patent Medicine Manufacturers and Amount of Medicines Manufactured and their value.

4.—Patent Medicine Taxes.

5.—The Export of Japanese Patent Medicines.

6.—Trade Marks.

7.—Kinds of Patent Medicines and Ways of Packing.

8.—Institutions for Protection and Development of the Industry.

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JAPANESE PATENT MEDICINES.

Note.—Throughout this report, the term "Patent Medicines" is used in the loose sense in which it is generally employed in popular language; that is, it refers to all medicines sold in a prepared form on which a stamp duty is imposed, as opposed to medicines prepared in particular cases from a prescription.

1. History. The patent medicine industry of Japan had its origin, about two and a half centuries ago, in the town of Toyama in the now-called province of Etchū on the West Coast, which ever since has been the great centre of the industry. Prince SEIHO MAEDA, who was born in 1649, was then DAIMYO of the province, succeeding his father in 1674. He was a man of strong and determined character, and highly intelligent, and on taking up the reins of government, he immediately set about the making of many reforms, especially with the object of spreading education among his subjects. For this reason, and for his care and solicitude for the people, whenever any emergency or calamity arose, he was greatly respected and loved, but the chief cause of his fame and reputation down to the present day is that it was due to his initiative and support that the industry, which to-day is so far-reaching and the source of Toyama's prosperity, arose and flourished. This fact was clearly shown in the spring of this year, 1906, the two hundredth anniversary of the DAIMYO's death. In May, a grand commemorative festival lasting two days, organized by the patent medicine dealers of Toyama, was held at the DAIHŌJI temple

at Umezawa, and was attended by large numbers of people from near and far, who wished to do honour to the old DAIMYO's memory. From the beginning of his assuming the government, Prince Seiho Maeda took great interest in the manufacture of medicines and in matters of public health generally. When epidemics of dysentery, etc., occurred within his dominions, he used himself to make up medicines and dispense them to the poor. In 1682, BANDAI JŌKAN, a physician of KATAKAMI in BIZEN province, hearing of Prince Maeda's interest in the manufacture of medicines, travelled to Toyama and presented to the Prince some medicine of his own manufacture which he called HAN-GON-TAN (i.e. "medicine which calls back the dead to life")—a name which is now a household word throughout Japan—which he prepared from an old secret prescription handed down in his family. The Prince was greatly struck with the excellence of this medicine and caused his retainers to be instructed in the method of its preparation. The story goes that in 1690, when the Prince was in YEDO (Tōkyō), while busy one day at the SHŌGUN's Court, one of the Daimyos there was suddenly taken ill and was at the point of death. All present were thrown into a state of consternation, and no one knew what to do, nor offered any effective assistance, until Prince Maeda took a dose of HAN-GON-TAN from his medicine box (a thing always carried in the old days) and administered it to the sufferer, who was immediately restored to health. All the Daimyos present were so struck with the wonderful efficacy of the medicine, that, in spite of the prevailing restrictions with regard to encroaching on one another's territories, they begged that from that time forward the Toyama medicine vendors should ply their trade far and wide in all provinces and provide for the demand for Hangontan. The Prince consented to this and, on his return to his province, gave an apothecary the prescription for the medicine and caused him to make and sell it, and sent a man to other provinces as a peddler. Moreover, so charitable and benevolent was the

Prince that, in his desire to help all the sick people in the country, he caused the medicines to be distributed from door to door without immediate payment, and the collection of the money to be postponed until a convenient time, which is the origin of the custom now in vogue for the distribution of patent medicines in Japan. (See Section 2, under the heading "Methods of selling and advertising.") In organizing these methods the Prince took the greatest trouble, and in consequence, from the beginning, the business gradually made very considerable progress. The peddling business increased year by year under the protection of the provincial administration, and was not limited to Han-gon-tan alone, but comprised all sorts of medicines, and by degrees became the greatest source of Toyama's prosperity.

A small industry also arose at this time, dependent upon the patent medicine business; viz., the making of the paper packets and boxes for the medicines, and by this means many people earned a livelihood. So widely, moreover, did the Toyama industry spread, that it came to be looked upon from a provincial standpoint as a great industry, and it was therefore decided to levy local taxes on the medicines, the management of the taxation being placed under the control of the City Governor. From 1764 to 1771, owing to a further large increase in the number of peddlers, special offices were established and special officers appointed in complete control of matters connected with patent medicines, but afterwards these were abolished and control was again vested in the City Office and Financial Bureau of Toyama. Thenceforth, until about 1803, an annual tax was levied on each peddler at the rate of about one shilling, which in 1850 was increased to about two shillings and nine pence per head. The total amount collected in 1850 from this tax was over £350. From this time until the daimyates were abolished and prefectures established in 1868, there was not much variation in the total amount collected annually. Meanwhile the patent medicine dealers had drawn up regula-

tions among themselves, and had divided all the peddlers into twenty-one bands, over each of which, according to the size of the band, from five to ten overseers were appointed. Each of these bands had its own district allotted to it for its operations, and thus the whole country was covered and constantly worked by peddlers. Over the whole organization the dealers chose one of their own number, each taking the office in turn, to superintend the manufacture of the medicines and the working of the peddling business. The districts allotted to the various bands were as follows:—KWANTŌ, GOKINAI, MINO, SHINSHIŪ, KIUSHIŪ, OKUCHŪGOKU, ECHIGO, DATE, KAZUSA, DEWA, GŌSHIŪ, ISE, KITACHŪGOKU, SURUGA, SHIKOKU, NAMBU, SENDAI, SATSUMA, HISHIŪ, AKITA, HOKKOKU, thus covering the whole country. At first, when the bands were started, there were over 2,600 peddlers in all employed, the large bands containing from 100 to 300, and the smaller ones from 60 to 90 men each. The numbers gradually increased, and the support of the provincial administration became more and more thorough; so that, in 1875, there were about 5000 patent-medicine peddlers in all. Other daimyates also afforded a large amount of protection to Toyama patent medicines, and from MUTSU, DEWA, CHIKUZEN, CHIKUGO, BUZEN, BUNGO, HIZEN, HIGO, SATSUMA, IKI and TSUSHIMA and other daimyates, local patent medicine dealers were sent to make a special study of the Toyama industry. After the restoration of 1868, when daimyates were abolished and prefectures established, many SAMURAI took up the patent-medicine business, the numbers engaged rising to over 8,000. In January, 1877, the Government issued the first regulations for the state control and taxation of patent medicines. The first effect of this Government control was favorable to the growth of the industry, and its development proceeded rapidly throughout the years 1880 and 1881. In October, 1882, however, owing to the publication, by Government decree No. 51, of the patent-medicine stamp tax laws, great distress was occasioned among the

patent-medicine dealers, and on all sides bitter complaints against the hardships of the regulation were heard. This distress was felt most keenly among those occupied in the Toyama patent-medicine business, owing to the methods employed in distribution, and for a time large numbers of people were thrown out of employment. After that, year by year, the business declined, and it seemed that, if matters were left in the state in which they then were, the industry would be entirely ruined. In July 1886, with a view to ameliorating the conditions in some degree, the Finance Department's Decree No. 203, issuing regulations for exchanging patent medicine tax stamps affixed to medicines which subsequently remained unsold, was published; but although on the surface the publication of these regulations appeared somewhat to lessen the hardships on dealers, in reality no relief at all was realized from them. So, as it was useless to complain of the severity of the stamp tax and meanwhile simply await the Government's action, the dealers took steps on their own account and made great reforms in all branches of the industry, and so saved it from the absolute ruin which appeared imminent, and by degrees brought it to a more satisfactory position. After that, year by year, the industry made great strides, and the medicines began to be exported in considerable quantities. In January, 1905, the patent-medicine tax bill was introduced into the Diet and a ten per cent *ad valorem* tax, with exemption for all medicines exported, was approved, and from May of the same year was put into operation. As a result of this law, the export of patent-medicines to foreign countries has continuously and largely increased, and as the conditions of the industry in the home market are also very favourable, a large extension of business on all sides has taken place.

2. Methods of selling and advertising.

Patent medicine manufacturers in Japan sell their goods wholesale to the retail dealers in the various towns and villages, or employ their own peddlers to hawk their goods all over the country.

In the former case, they allow the retail dealers a commission on their sales amounting to from 20% to 50% of the takings, or they sell the medicines to them outright at a fixed reduction in price. The peddlers, on the other hand, either receive one half of all their receipts, or have their travelling expenses and board paid and receive a commission on their sales. The system in vogue among the peddlers is a very curious one and probably unique. As has been previously mentioned, the bands of peddlers have each their own district for business allotted to them, and in this district they distribute whatever medicines their customers require, without at the time receiving any payment for the same. Each customer takes what he considers sufficient to last his household a year, and when the year is completed, the peddlers once more make the same round and collect the price of medicines that have been consumed during the course of the year. What is left over, they take back, and exchange free of charge for new medicines of the same sort, at the same time supplying on credit another year's stock.

It was on account of this method being in vogue and owing to the severity with which the stamp-tax laws fell upon those employing this method, stamps having to be affixed to all medicines when made up for distribution, that the "Patent medicines stamp exchange regulations" were issued.

Advertising. It was also due to the fact that the peddling branch of the business until recent times largely prevailed to the exclusion of the method of selling from retail shops, that advertising in print and by sign board was only indulged in on a small scale, as the peddlers themselves took round samples of new medicines and did their advertising by word of mouth. Nowadays, however, the fashion of advertising in newspapers and magazines and by setting up large boards in the neighbourhood of the railways and by the roadside largely prevails and is constantly growing, and follows both in style and design, as well as in locality, the methods of European

countries. Indeed, there is scarcely a line of railway in any thickly populated part of Japan, the neighbouring landscape of which is not disfigured by the uncomely and often, to foreign ideas at least, unsavoury advertisements of popular patent medicines.

3. Number of Patent Medicine Manufacturers and amount of medicines manufactured and their value.

In 1904, there were 3,102 licensed patent medicine manufacturers in Japan, manufacturing in all 9,735 different kinds of patent medicines for which licences were taken out. The total value of patent medicines manufactured during the eleven years previous to 1905 is approximately as follows:—

1894	£ 573,500
1895	£ 679,500
1896	£ 778,700
1897	£ 874,100
1898	£1,009,900
1899	£1,126,000
1900	£1,182,200
1901	£1,211,600
1902	£1,231,200
1903	£1,236,100
1904	£1,189,400

In 1886, it amounted to only £438,600. Toyama produces about one quarter of the total, its production annually being about 73,000,000 packets of medicines worth approximately £300,000. This gives some idea of the small quantities in which certain medicines are done up for sale, the average value of these packets being just one penny each.

4. Patent Medicine Taxes.

In former times, there were no national taxes levied on patent medicines. In 1877, these were first imposed and were fixed at the following rates:—

(*a*) Manufacturers of patent medicines :—

1. Business tax, for each kind of medicine manufactured ... ...4/- per annum.
2. Licence fee, for each kind of medicine manufactured on issue of licence. 5d. „

(*b*) Retail dealers in patent medicines and peddlers, irrespective of the number of different kinds of medicine sold... ...5d. per annum.

In 1882, by decree No. 51, regulations as to stamp duties on patent medicines were issued, and on each packet of patent medicines stamps to the value of one tenth of the value of the medicine contained in the packet were required to be affixed. These stamps were at first of a special sort called "Patent medicine stamps"; but in 1898, by Imperial Ordinance No. 140, general revenue stamp regulations were published and one sort of revenue stamp was issued for indiscriminate use as deed stamps, tobacco stamps, legal stamps and patent medicine stamps, and at once came into use for all stamp duties. The stamps are of ten denominations of the following values and colours :—

1 *rin* ($\frac{1}{10}$th of a farthing)... ...	grey.
2 *rin*	light blue.
3 *rin*	yellow.
5 *rin*	dark brown.
1 *sen* ($\frac{1}{4}$d.)	light brown.
2 *sen* ($\frac{1}{2}$d.)	green.
3 *sen* ($\frac{3}{4}$d.)	dark blue.
4 *sen* (1d.)	orange.
5 *sen* ($1\frac{1}{4}$d.)	purple.
10 *sen* ($2\frac{1}{2}$d.)	dark red.

In 1905, the patent medicine tax laws were revised, and, in addition to slight modifications of the regulations in force at home, exemption from all taxes was granted to medicines exported to foreign countries. Further, in the regulations for

putting these revised laws into effect (Imperial Ordinance No. 155 of 1905), a new definition was given of "articles resembling patent medicines"—on which, for the first time, the patent medicine stamp tax was levied, the articles specified having hitherto been outside the category of patent medicines. The definition given is as follows: "Articles containing drugs, "or mixed with drugs, which are advertised as being efficacious in any of the ways mentioned under the following "headings, are "articles resembling patent medicines": but "articles only efficacious as nutrients or disinfectants and "articles specially exempted by the Minister of Finance, are "not included." The classification of "articles resembling patent medicines" is as follows:—

1. Articles used in guarding against illnesses.

2. Articles used in exhilarating the spirits, clearing the voice, or increasing physical or mental energy, while not laying claim to being efficacious in curing illnesses.

3. Articles used for changing the colour or constitution of the skin or hair, or in removing unpleasant smells.

4. Articles used in healing skin diseases.

All such articles, though not coming under the law for patent medicines making a licence and registration necessary, must nevertheless, in the same way as the medicines, have revenue stamps affixed.

From January 1905, new special extra taxes, on account of the Russo-Japanese war, have been in force, and are still to be continued for an indefinite period. The rates of this taxation are as follows:—

For each separate medicine in respect of the amount manufactured,

(1)	When the total value is less than		£30..	... ...	2s.
(2)	"	"	between £30 and	£50..	6s.
(3)	"	"	" 50 and	100..	10s.
(4)	"	"	" 100 and	200..	14s.

(5)	When the total value is between			£200 and	£300 ..	£1
(6)	,,	,,	,,	300 and	500 ..	£1 10s.
(7)	,,	,,	,,	500 and	1,000 ..	£2
(8)	,,	,,	,,	1,000 and	2,000 ..	£3
(9)	,,	,,	,,	2,000 and	3,000 ..	£4
(10)	,,	,,	,,	3,000 and	5,000 ..	£5 10s.
(11)	,,	,,	,,	5,000 and	7,000 ..	£7
(12)	,,	,,	,,	7,000 and	10,000 ..	£8 10s.
(13)	,,	,,		over	10,000 ..	£10

In addition to this, there is also a special business tax, arising from the extra special war taxes, which is as follows for each medicine when the value of the amount manufactured in one year is :—

Less than	£30	... ...	4½d.
Between	30 and	£50	1s. 2½d.
,,	50 and	100	1s. 9½d.
,,	100 and	200	2s. 5d.
,,	200 and	300	3s. 5½d.
,,	300 and	500	5s. 2d.
,,	500 and	1,000	6s. 11d.
,,	1,000 and	2,000	10s. 4d.
,,	2,000 and	3,000	13s. 9½d.
,,	3,000 and	5,000	18s. 11½d.
,,	5,000 and	7,000	£1 4s. 1d.
,,	7,000 and	10,000	£1 9s. 3d.
Over	10,000	... ...	£1 14s. 5d.

There are also local (provincial and city) taxes on patent medicines.

The total amount received from patent medicine taxes in Japan during the years 1894-1904 is as follows :—

1894...	£57,300
1895...	67,900
1896...	77,800
1897...	87,400

1898...	£100,900
1899...	112,600
1900...	118,200
1901...	121,100
1902...	123,100
1903...	123,600
1904...	118,900

3. The Export of Japanese Patent Medicines.

The export of Japanese patent medicines began in 1889, when a Toyama dealer crossed over to Corea and opened up business there. For some years after this but little was done, there being but a small and fluctuating export trade to China and Corea carried on; but, after the Chino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, the business was gradually extended in those countries, and also spread to Hawaii. Since then, most of the ports of the Pacific where Japanese are settled have taken their share, and in other directions also an export trade has grown up. After the Russo-Japanese war ended in 1905, the special exemption from taxation in the case of exported patent-medicines came into force and gave a great impetus to the export trade. The total value of medicines exported from Toyama alone during the year from July 1st, 1905 to June 30th, 1906 amounted to about £15,000.

Japanese patent medicines are exported direct to the following places :—

China :—Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, Chefoo, Tsingtau, Taku, Yinkow and Newchwang.

Corea :—Chemulpo, Seoul, Chinnampo, Fusan, Gensan, Mokpo, Gunsan.

United States :—San Francisco, Tacoma, Portland, Seattle.

Canada :—Victoria, Vancouver.

Straits Settlements :—Singapore, Penang.

British India :—Rangoon.

Dutch East Indies :—Borneo.

Australia :—Townsville, Thursday Island.

Hawaii:—Honolulu.
Philippines:—Manila.
Hongkong.

6. Trade Marks.

Trade marks for patent medicines are required to be registered and are of two kinds—(*a*) the sign hitherto used by the shop or other descriptive design, or (*b*) the name of the medicine. It was formerly a common practise to choose Buddhist and Shintō terms as names for patent medicines, but this is now specifically forbidden, and to ensure that no such names should be registered, it is mentioned in the Trade Marks law of 1899 that names of patent medicines used before that date which have by their popular usage come to be regarded as trade marks, cannot under the new law be registered as trade marks.

For this reason, most patent medicines, which were manufactured and well-known before 1899, are registered under signs or pictures for trade marks.

The names used are generally chosen with reference to the alleged curative properties of the medicines, such as, "brain-healing pills," "poison-expelling pills," "spirit-cheering pills," "heal-everything powders," "one-dose-healing powders," "life-supporting powders," "touch-the-spot pastilles," "second-to-none plasters," "boil-breaking ointment," "immediate-healer plaster."

7. Kinds of Patent Medicines, and ways of Packing.

No Japanese patent medicines are sold in a liquid form, pills, powders, pastilles and pastes being the usual way in which medicines are made up. There is also a large sale of dried roots, leaves, herbs etc., which are prepared by steeping in hot water, which is then poured off and drunk.

Patent medicines are generally packed in tins or in cardboard boxes, though many kinds, owing to their cheapness and the very small quantities (often but one dose at a time, for which less than a farthing is paid) in which they must be done up in

order to meet the popular demand, are simply enclosed in a paper package or small envelope.

8. Institutions for Protection and Development of the Industry.

In order to safeguard the interests of the industry and of individual manufacturers, there are numerous Patent Medicine Industry Guilds. These assist in a general way those of their members who are in any difficulties, legal or otherwise, connected with the business. There is also in Toyama a special guild for the purpose of loaning money to patent medicine dealers when they are in need of capital to develop their business, and which offer them special facilities for depositing money: this guild has from its start made great progress, and the numbers of its members are increasing year by year. In addition to these, there is in Toyama a Patent Medicine Dealers' Club with 3,000 members, started in 1901; a school for instruction in medical matters with nearly 200 pupils, founded by influential dealers in 1893 and taken over by the Municipality in 1898; and a monthly magazine known as the "Toyama Patent Medicine Magazine," which deals with all matters connected with the industry. This was started in 1904.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Room, 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Feb. 20. Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., acted as Chairman. The minutes of the last meeting having been published, were taken as read. The Chairman then called upon Prof. E. H. Vickers to read the paper on "Japanese Patent Medicines" by Mr. W. M. Royds, of H.B.M's. Consular Service in Japan. This paper covered the following topics: History; Methods of Selling and Advertising; Number of Patent Medicine Manufacturers; Amount of Medicines Manufactured and their Value; Patent Medicine Taxes; Export of Patent Medicines; Trade Marks; Kinds of Patent Medicine and Ways of Packing; Institutions for Protection and Development of the Industry.'

The Chairman, in expressing the thanks of the Society to both the writer and the reader of the instructive paper, remarked that he wished some physicians were present to give information concerning the real value of these remedies, some of which were undoubtedly efficacious. He also alluded to a servant's derivation of the English word "doctor" from the Japanese *doku-toru* (poison remover)!

Mr. Ernest W. Clement next read some "Notes," which, in a revised and expanded form, are published in the following paper on "Japanese Medical Folk-lore."

The Librarian then made the following report:—

BOOKS AND PAPERS RECEIVED SINCE THE JANUARY MEETING.

Royal Society, London, Series A. vol. 78. No. A. 525.
Royal Society, S. Australia, vol. XXX. Dec., 1906.
Science of Man, 15 Sept., 1906.
Oesterreichische Monatschrift, Dec., 1906.
Royal Asiatic Society. Bombay Branch, No. LXI. Dec., 1906.
Journal of Anthropological Institute, Jan. to June, 1906.
Journal of Geography, Jan., 1907.
Transactions of University of Colorado, Dec., 1906.
Chinese Recorder, Shanghai, Jan., Feb., 1907.
International Studio, Jan., 1907 } presented by Mr. Owre.
Bellman, 15 Jan., 1907 }

JAPANESE

MEDICAL FOLK-LORE.

BY

ERNEST W. CLEMENT, A.M.

1907.

JAPANESE MEDICAL FOLK-LORE.

By ERNEST W. CLEMENT, A.M.

The paper by Mr. Royds on "Japanese Patent Medicines" is all too brief. Its scope seems to have been limited by a purpose to confine the discussion to the historical and mercantile phases of the subject. But it also suggests the immense and very interesting field of "Japanese Folk-Medicine" with its numerous superstitions about medicines, charms, amulets, exorcism, etc., etc. We do not expect to be able to cover this field completely, as we have not had sufficient time at our disposal for a thorough investigation. We merely desire to offer a few notes gathered hastily from various sources.*

But first, even at the risk of repeating some items in the paper by Mr. Royds, we would supplement what he has written by a clipping from the *Japan Mail* of July, 1899. This we reproduce entire :—

An article containing a good deal of curious information appears in No. 221 of the *Rikugō Zasshi*, entitled *Baiyaku Kōkoku to Minzoku*, "The Advertising of Patent Medicines and Popular Customs," by Mr. Yamagata Tōkon, the gist of which we give below. The writer does not confine the discussion to patent medicines, but includes cosmetics as well. There are at least one hundred quack remedies and cosmetics whose sale is solely dependent on the persistence with which

* For a thorough treatment of the "History of Medical Progress in Japan," see Dr. Whitney's lengthy paper in Vol. XII of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

they are advertised in newspapers. The advertising medium is usually one or two of the smaller dailies, but the names of patent medicines may frequently be seen in the pages of Buddhist magazines, which shows that the priests do a little selling on their own account when their incomes are small. The Japanese names given to the various articles for sale in many cases are very curious, and display no small amount of originality in their inventors. They may be divided as follows: (1) Names derived from the original foreign name of the article. (2) Names based on the disease or imperfection which the specific is designed to cure. (3) Abstract names describing the general effect of the article recommended, like *Shin* (神) *yaku*, *Hyakudoku Kudashi* (Hundred-poisons Purgative) *Taiyō-gan* (Sun-pills), *Taiyō-san* (Sun powders), *Bikkuri megusuri*, *Dokutori-gan;* and among Cosmetics, the *Kirei-sui*, the *Beppin-sui* (Beauty-water), *Tekimen-sui* (Immediate Effect water), *Kime-chinki* (*lit.* Skin-texture Tincture), *Tsuya-kin* (the chief of gloss-producing cosmetics). The number of patent medicines offered for sale is astonishing. Mr. Yamagata informs us that without making an exhaustive investigation he came across no less than 78 different specifics in the columns of newspapers. These he divides into 3 kinds. (1) *Specifics connected with child-bearing.* There are pills that are said to insure conception and pills that are said to prevent it. (2) *Tonics*, of all kinds. Among them *imori no kuroyaki* (burnt water-lizard, used as an aphrodisiac medicine). (3) *Poison Antidotes and Disease Cures.* The modes of advertising these wonderful remedies differ nothing from those followed in the West. And the practice of offering rewards of even 5,000 *yen* to any person who proves the inefficacy of the drug recommended is very common. Statistics show that every year the number of patent medicines offered for sale increases. In 1896 in Tōkyō alone there were registered 1,401 inventors of patent medicines and 5,145 vendors of these remedies. The number of quack doctors in that year was 42,533. At that

time Tōkyō's duly qualified medical men numbered only 5,137. Since that time additions have been made both to the ranks of trained physicians and to those of the charlatans, but unless some special steps are taken to save the people from imposition, says Mr. Yamagata, the quack, for many years to come, will do more than hold his own among the lower classes, on account of the cheapness of his wares and his low charges for consultation. In the writer's opinion restrictions should be placed on the manufacture and the sale of patent medicines and cosmetics, so as to prevent fraud and put a stop to practices that are injurious to health and to morals.

We wish also to add a few more points about the nomenclature, nature, history and claims of some of the most prominent and popular nostrums.*

1. Hōtan (寶丹). A cordial composed of camphor, peppermint, etc. The name means "gem medicine," or "jewel medicine." It is said that there once lived a man named Morita, who was distinguished in penmanship and the art of drawing, and whose classical name was Hōtan. He kept a drugstore, to which one day came an old man on business. The two fell into more intimate conversation; and, when the old man went away, he left with the druggist the prescription for Hōtan, which quickly became popular and distinguished among nostrums. The result was that in a short time Morita obtained great riches; and in order to commemorate the old man's kindness, he laid away a certain portion of his profits to use for the old man. The advertisement of this remedy is appended from the *Japan Times*.†

2. Hankontan (反魂丹). The name means "recalling soul medicine," as it is claimed to be efficacious in resurrecting from the dead. This is one of the nostrums prepared in Toyama.

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* We would acknowledge the valuable assistance of Mr. Josuke Tatsuno in collecting this material.

† *See* next page.

3. Kakkontō (葛根湯). As the name indicates, this is a decoction from the root of the plant known as *kuzu* or *katsu*.

4. Mankintan (萬金丹). The name means "ten thousand dollar medicine." It is manufactured in Kumano in the province of Kii; it is an anodyne pill. There is also a Senkintan (千金丹), or "thousand-dollar medicine."

OLDEST AND UP-TO-DATE.

PATENT MEDICINE.

MORITA'S HOTAN.

TRADE MARK.

MORITA'S "HOTAN" is one of the oldest patent medicines historically and is up-to-date in respect of its efficiency. It enables its users to be proof against noxious exhalations and infectious diseases. "Hotan" is also best for reinvigorating the drooping spirits. It has worked marvellously in ailments of beasts. Beware of imitations of which there are several. Mark our brand. Sold in tins, each 10 *sen* and above.

TRADE MARK.

JIHEI MORITA,

(The 10th descendants of the same name).

No. 27, IKENOHATA NAKA-CHO,

SHITAYA, TOKYO.

5. Seikisui (精錡水). The name means "purifying-wonder-water." This is an ophthalmological remedy, invented by Ginkō Kishida, an editor, famous as a scholar of Chinese literature and the art of poetry.

6. Jitsubosan (實母散). A decoction used as a specific in female complaints. The name means "real-mother-medicine," because it takes as good care of a sick person as the real mother would.

7. Chūjōtō (中將湯). A specific for female complaints. The name comes from the Princess Chūjō (Chūjō-hime), who lived in the time of the Empress Koken (749-758 A.D.) and the Emperor Junnin (758-764 A. D.) She was a remarkable beauty, daughter of a noble of the Fujiwara family. At her birth she lost her own mother and was brought up as an adopted child in another home. On account of the cruelty of her step-mother, she lived a bitter and sad life, and finally was sent to the forest, to be killed, by her cruel mother. She was, however, rescued by a faithful retainer, or, as another story goes, by one of her female adherents.

One day, when her father was out hunting, he lost his way, but happened to meet his daughter and took her back to her old home. But she again forsook her home and lived in a monastery, in preference to the position of Empress offered to her.

The story of the Princess Chūjō has been dramatised. Her picture adorns (?) the advertisements on the street posts.

8. Hyakusō (百草). A strong, bitter medicine for diarrhœa and stomach troubles. It is said that there once lived in China a virtuous Emperor who tried to find an excellent medicine for his subjects. He tasted one by one the various plants and at last found this one so profitable to all. From this comes its name, meaning "hundred-grasses."

9. Shinyaku (神藥), or Divine remedy. It has a sharp smell, is said to resemble "Painkiller," and is used in a similar way.

10. Gozōen (五藏圓). These are pills as a tonic for the *gozō*, or five viscera, *i.e.*, the heart, lungs, stomach, liver and kidney.

11. Uirō-gusuri (外郎藥), or Uirō. This is a nostrum originally brought from China and supposed to be a specific for expectoration. In Odawara there is a grand old building, which has an eight-ridged roof, is noted for its architectural style and is specially popular among old-style carpenters. In this building is sold Uirō; so that both the nostrum and the building are well known to the people. For some reason or other, the children of that house are despised by their fellows.

12. Usaikaku (烏犀角), or Rhinoceros horns. The horns of the rhinoceros are powdered and used as a specific in fever cases of all kinds.

13. Kiōgan (奇應丸). The name means "wonderful-effect-pills." They are of the size of a mustard-seed and are given to infants.

14. Kyūmeigan (救命丸), or "saving-life-pills." Similar to the above, but stronger and more effective. As this medicine is produced at a place called Uzu, that name is often prefixed, as you may see it to-day in the advertisements in the electric cars. There it is specially advertised to cure "worms" in children.

15. Seishintan (清心丹), or "Refreshing-heart-medicine." Its advertisement may speak for itself.*

16. Seifuyu (清婦湯), or "Purifying-women-hot water." Used as a decoction.

17. Someisan (蘇命散), or "Reviving-life-medicine."

18. Ichirokusan (一六散), or "One-six-remedy," used in dental disorders. The expression "one-six" comes from dice used in back-gammon (*suguruku*); and it is said to suggest that the efficiency of this medicine can be known only by trial. This is widely advertised in front of drug-stores.

19. Hifumi (一二三), or "One-two-three." This is a plaster used for skin diseases. Its name includes a pun on the word *hifu*, meaning "skin"; may also indicate that it is useful for several ailments; and may emphasize the fact that it has no rival.

20. Zenjisui (全治水), or "Complete-cure-water," a lotion for skin diseases.

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* SEISHINTAN (PILLS.)

INDISPENSABLE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

(in Case, Bottle, Package, Nickel, Tin, etc.)

As an Invigorator and for curing Headache Giddiness, and for refreshing the Drooping Mind. Those occupied in busy professions are advised to provide themselves with Our Pills without fail.

Take a few of Our Pills after every meal, and Your Digestions will be improved, and your Stomach and Bowels be kept healthy, whereby you will always be a stranger to all sorts of ailments arising from the disorder of those parts.

Very Fragrant; keep the mouth from all Offensive Smell as well as from Fever; clear the throat of Phlegm; keep it moist and clear the Voice. Very necessary for a Vocalist and Society Ladies and Gentlemen.

Have Mysterious Powers of remedying Seasickness and every sort of illness to which you may be liable during the hot or cold season. Ward off the Attack of Dangerous Fever.

Good for Stomach-ache, Diarrœa, etc., arising from the use of bad or strange drinking water and for any other sort of illness you may often suffer from while on a journey. A Traveller, careful of his health, ought to carry Our Seishintan.

Sold at all the druggists throughout Japan, but purchasers are cautioned against Fraudulent Imitations, looking always for our Trade Mark "Mermaid."

21. Bannōkō (萬能膏), or "Omnipotent paste." It may also be pronounced Mannōkō. It is a paste, much in vogue among the vulgar classes.

22. Sumōkō (相撲膏), or "Wrestler's paste." Used by wrestlers after moxa (*mogusa*) has been applied to their bodies.

23. Mankinkō (萬金膏), or "Ten-thousand dollar paste."

24. Issaigan (一切丸), or "Cure-all pills." Not so well-known as others, though it claims so much!

25. Nihachisui (二八水). or "Twice-eight-water,"—a toilet water which is warranted to make girls "sweet sixteen." The advertisements of this adorn the posts all over Tōkyō.

26. Tsuya-no-mizu (艶の水), or "Polish-water," to make the face shine.

27. Kirei-sui (キレー水), or "Beauty-water," also for a lady's toilet.

28. Rōyaru-sui (ローヤル水), or "Royal-water," like the three preceding ones.

29. Mōseieki (毛生液), or "Hair-growing-lotion," for baldness or thinness of hair.

30. Kokkwaigan (克快丸), or "Restorative-pills," for rheumatism, beri-beri and syphilis.

31. Makuri (海仁草) (滿久利). A purgative made from sea-weed and commonly given to a baby for a few days after its birth.

32. Sanōgon (三黄丸). A medicine for syphilis.

33. Dokusōgan (毒掃丸), or Poison-expelling-pills, for syphilis.

34. Kennōgan (健腦丸), or Strengthening-brain pills, for nervous troubles.

35. Heburin-gan (ヘブリン丸), or "Febrin" pills, for fever.

36. Meijisui (明治水), or Meiji-water, named from the present era,—for rheumatism.

37. Junkisan (順氣散), or Settling-body-powder, for women.

38. Chōisan (調胃散), or Settling-stomach-powder.

39. Shingetsugan (新月丸), or New-moon-pills, is the poetical name of a popular remedy for amenorrhœa.

40. Seiryōgan (清凉丸), or Refreshing-pills. This is quite similar to Seishintan, noticed above (No. 15); but is more modern, and is manufactured and sold "for the benefit of the poor and the sick"!

Further illustrations of old nostrums are found in "A Suburb of Yedo" (Purcell), as follows:—

The establishment, from which he [the doctor] starts upon his daily rounds, is quite a marvel of little drawers and shelves. Root-choppers and mortars litter the mats; whilst black-lacquered boards, with gilded incriptions thereon, inform the public of the "Thousand years' life pills to be had here"—the "Mixture of a hundred ingredients"—and many other nostrums too numerous to mention. In addition to these affirmatories he has a rare stock of hand-bills in which he wraps his potions. Some of them are ornamented with harrowing pictures meant to catch the eye, and all are brave with capitals. What wheezing asthmatic could resist the seductions of the "Clove Pills, a recipe of this house"? "This honourable medicine," it is asserted, "is prepared in a secret manner, according to a recipe of divine origin, and there is no other medicine like it in the world." "This unique and extraordinary compound," it goes on to relate, "is a specific for the coughs of both grown people and children, no matter from what cause arising. When a cough lasts for a long time, it ruins the spleen, injures the stomach and destroys the five great organs* and the six members†, more especially in the case of young children, for in such instances a bad habit of body arises, from which spring the 'hundred diseases.' A cure, however, is guaranteed in the most deplorable cases by using one packet of the specific, and in hopeless ones by two. The

* The *gozō* mentioned above.

† The *rokugai*, viz., the head, body, right side, left side, hands and feet.

symptoms will be found to improve in the most astonishing manner. For epidemic coughs at change of season, for ordinary catarrh, for hacking cough, for the cough which defies diagnosis, for the constitutional cough, and, in fact, for all other kinds of coughs, this extraordinary combination will be found to have an astounding action. No matter how far gone the patient may be, it will be found to refresh his inwards, expand his chest, improve his appetite, and fatten him up in an amazingly short space of time. Of the many tens of thousands of persons who have tried its virtues, not one has found it to fail. Its excellence can be tested by a trial, even the most hopeless cases are benefited by its use, and if several packets are taken, a cure is guaranteed. Prepared and compounded only by Kahei of the Isei house."

Rhinoceros Pills!

"A certain cure for tightness of the chest, pain, gnashing of the teeth, depression of the spirits, and in fact every other disease under the sun. An unfailing cure guaranteed if regularly used. These pills are best taken by being dissolved in *saké*."

Pick-me-up Pills!

With a picture of a decrepit old man tottering in at one door of the establishment and leaving by another rejuvenescent. "Try the gold-coated life-helping pills!" etc.

Wonderful System!

"This is the establishment for the cure of all kinds of diseases. The family to which I belong has been distinguished for seven generations for its successful treatment of every known disease. Of the many hundreds of patients who have been under our treatment, not one has failed to be cured. Toothache cured on the spot."

Black Ball Pills!

"Useful for curing twenty-one different descriptions of diseases."

The Furidashi!

"A popular remedy for coughs and colds. It expels the devil and promotes the circulation. Some designing persons having in various places exhibited signs professing to deal in this medicine, I would humbly beg to observe that what is prepared and sold in those places is inert, as will be quickly discovered by any one foolish enough to try it."

The Musk Pills!

"An infallible remedy for everything, from a red face to a bed-sore. A pick-me-up after a drinking-bout (in which case they are to be taken in salt-water). Every traveller should be provided with a store of these magic pills as a specific against sea-sickness, *kago* sickness, and bites of venomous reptiles."

These, and many other infallible nostrums too numerous to mention, may all be procured for a trifling charge from the doctor of "Our Suburb."

Folk-medicines are numerous in Japan, as the following bits of folk-lore will illustrate:—

If you have a mole under your eyes, drop three red beans into a well, and it will disappear.

If you see a person with trachomae, spit three times when that person is not looking at you, or you will catch the disease.

The spread of measles may be stopped by writing the name of Chinzei Hachirō (a noted warrior to whom tradition has ascribed supernatural powers in warding off disease) and pasting it on the doors of houses that have been affected.

A sure antidote for small-pox is to keep by one a photo of the pock-marked face of Hon. Kakugorō Inouye, M. P. The idea in this case seems to be that, as Mr. Inouye is such a noted orator, the very sight of his face would overawe the Small Pox God (Hōsō-no-Kami).*

In the case of *kakke*, or *beri-beri*, there is a stone, called

* Concerning this deity, see Hearn's "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," page 147, on which page are references to other disease deities.

the *Kaname-ishi*, or Pivot-stone which is remarkably efficacious. It is shaped like the pin that fastens a fan together; hence its name. Moreover, the location of such a stone is indicated by a pile of salt, which also possesses remarkable powers. This salt is rubbed into the soles of the feet by such as wear clogs, and is dropped into their shoes by the soldiers from the barracks, who are largely afflicted by the complaint it is said to cure, and who even fill their pocket-books with it for future use.*

It is the custom, when a cold is feared, to paste a piece of paper over the entrance to the house, the paper bearing ideographs that Katō Kiyomasa or some other old Japanese hero is at present lodging there. This so frightens the demon, or the Wind-God, that he flees at once. There is a certain kind of cold known as O-some-kaze, from a famous O Some San, who had a lover named Hisamatsu. Whenever the cold made its appearance, the notice, "Hisamatsu not at this house," was pasted on the doorway.

In Oki is a famous cedar-tree remarkable for its girth of forty-five feet and its age of more than 800 years. It is alleged that whoever eats with chopsticks made of the wood of that tree will never have the toothache, and will live to become exceedingly old. There is also a superstition about the *yanagi*, or willow tree, that sufferers from toothache sometimes stick needles into the tree in the belief that the pain caused to the tree-spirit will force it to exercise its power to cure. In Oki is also Agonashi Jizō, to whom people who have tooth-ache pray, because he is jaw-less (*ago-nashi*). It is explained that Jizō in one of his former lives had such a tooth-ache that he tore off his lower jaw and threw it away. Therefore, the people of Oki made a statue of him without a jaw. His real name, however, is Agonaoshi (Jaw-healer). When people are cured, they go to any running stream and

* "A Suburb of Yezo" (Purcell).

drop into the water twelve pears (*nashi*), one for each month.*

In Old Japan there was a famous *dōsha* powder, manufactured and sold only by the priests of the Shingon sect and said to have such wonderful virtues as not only to cure various diseases, but also "to relax the rigid limbs of a corpse." Dr. Griffis†, however, found out by experiment and analysis that it was a "pious fraud." He swallowed a tea-spoonful without experiencing any effects. He subjected the *dōsha* powder to careful microscopic examination, to find only quartz sand, with flakes of other minerals. He also fused a quantity of the certified "drug" with some carbonate of soda, dissolved the resultant mess in distilled water, and upon adding a few drops of hydrochloric acid, found nothing but a precipitate of gelatinous silica. He also used up a packet of the holy sand upon the corpse of an old dog, but, of course, in vain.

An abundance of further illustrations of this kind may be found in Brinkley's "Japan,"‡ as follows:—

The word "puppy" written on the forehead averts nightmares; blood taken from a cock's comb cures an indigestion resulting from a surfeit of rice dumplings; and an eruption on the head is driven away by twice reciting the sentence, "In the long days of spring weeds may be removed, but those in the garden must be cut down at once." A baby's crying is stopped by tying on its back a red cotton bag containing dog's hair; by putting under its bed straw taken from a pig-sty; by rubbing the powder of an herb on the soles of the feet or the palms of the hands, or by writing certain ideographs on paper and placing it under the pillow. The bone of a mole's head thrust into a child's pillow charms it to sleep, and loss of sight from smallpox is prevented by throwing seven peas into a well, saying seven prayers over them, and then drawing all the water from the well.

* Hearn's "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," pp. 594, 598, 599, 604, 605.

† "The Mikado's Empire," p. 200.

‡ Vol. V. pp. 237-240, 242.

There are numerous devices for facilitating childbirth,—the woman swallows a piece of paper on which the name of the province of Ise is written; or a petal of lotus having the ideograph for "man" inscribed on it; or a peach-stone divided into two parts, one with the ideograph "able" written on it, the other with the ideograph "emerge." If the halves of a soja bean are swallowed, the character *i* having been traced on one and the character *se* on the other, then, should a male child be born, it will hold the bean in his left hand, whereas a female child will have it in her right. These are but a few of the many superstitions connected with childbirth and childhood, but in general the details do not lend themselves to narration.

Quaint methods of dealing with ordinary maladies are also practised. Bleeding at the nose is supposed to be checked by placing on the head a piece of paper folded into eight and dipped in freshly drawn well-water. A hiccough is driven away by applying under the knee a sheet of *hanshi*, folded to the left in the case of a man and to the right in the case of a woman. It is essential, however, that this aid should be rendered without the knowledge of the sufferer. Paralysis may be cured by putting on the tip of the nose dust gathered from a floor-mat and saying, "Take a trip to the capital"; a pain in the head, by placing on the pate a saucer containing a burning moxa; and toothache, by fumigating the tooth with the smoke of calcined [*Nanten Nandina domestica*]. If a fish bone sticks in the throat, the phrase "A descendant of Sayemon Kenjuro of Izumo" is written on the inside of a *sake* cup, and water from the cup is drunk by the sufferer. In case of dysentery the sick person, facing westward, swallows seven peas with some well-water drawn at dawn on the 1st of July, and intermittent fever is driven away by swallowing a paper on which is written the phrase, "The leaf falls and the ship sails." Such fantastic nostrums are innumerable. Sometimes a malady is treated by tying together a snake-gourd and a section of bamboo, the latter bearing this inscription: "My disease is

hereby transferred to you. My name and age are—," and throwing the whole into a river; sometimes the shell of a crawfish is roasted and the odour inhaled; sometimes the skin is smeared with ink on which certain ideographs are traced; sometimes the whole body is rubbed with garlic. One of the most curious is the charm for removing a wen. The swelling is rubbed with a soja bean on the 7th of July; the bean is then planted in the hollow of the second tile on the southern face of the roof; and when the bean begins to sprout, boiling water is poured over it so that it withers away, the wen disappearing simultaneously.

In time of an epidemic, straw puppets are thrown into a river with ringing of bells and beating of drums, or an amulet showing the emaciated face of the saint Ganzan Daishi is fastened above the entrance. A very common practice is to protect children from whooping-cough by tracing impressions of their hands on paper which is posted over the lintel, and in the same position may often be seen rude sketches of the Guardian Deities (the Deva Kings), or of a wolf, satellite of the "God of the Three Peaks" (*Mitsu-mine*), these being a charm against infectious diseases in general. Similar security is obtained by carrying copper in the pocket, or by holding in the hand a red cotton bag containing the bone of a horse, or by throwing into a well on the 1st of January twenty red beans or seven pieces of *Sesamum Orientalis*, and then drinking some of the water. The shell of a crab nailed over the entrances serves the purpose assigned to a horse-shoe in the Occident, and when fever is abroad folks write over their doors "Hisamatsu not at home," because the common appellation for contagious fever is *osome-kaze*, and Osome and Hisamatsu were lovers whose names have been handed down in story.

The nose of a tiger suspended from the middle of a "ventilating panel" (ramma) ensures the birth of a male child, and barrenness may be cured by swallowing thrice on a certain day of the sexagenary calendar powdered blossoms of the *gingko*

and the peach dried in the shade on another fixed day of the same calendar.

The following story is not inappropriate in this connection:—

A Soldier and Superstition.

In the suburbs of Tokyo, near the town of Oji in Kitatoshima County, there is a small shrine of the fox god, called Yotsuki Inari, famous in the world because of its renewal of spiritual power. Last year [1906] about the middle of February, on account of the erection of a building for the manufacture of rifles and cannons at the Oji arsenal, this Inari, being in the way, was removed to the shrine of the Oji Inari. But in consequence divine punishment was administered to the beloved son of Lieutenant Sankichi Sawano, the head of this factory, and he suddenly took sick and died. Then the wife of the lieutenant also became sick, and, although medicine was given, there was no effect. Not only did her sickness gradually become more severe, but one night the spirit of Inari stood near the pillow of the sick woman in a dream and said: "You have not only harshly removed the shrine in which I was accustomed to live for many years to another place, but you have established the manufacture of implements for depriving living beings of life and defiled a holy place with vulgar men. Since the sin in thus setting at naught the divine glory was not a light one, in order to reveal to you that there is a god who reproves the thoughtless, in the first place, I killed your child and am now about to kill you and your husband. But even now you will understand that you ought to fear divine punishment; so if you will take on a heart of service to god and worship me, I will care for you immediately. Never doubt in the least."

The woman was frightened when she opened her eyes, and, although it was only a dream, the palpitations of her heart

did not cease. At last, because of the feeling that she had actually seen this god, she told her apprehensions to her husband, the lieutenant. As is the manner of a soldier, he laughed, but nevertheless the woman was nervous. Her sickness became more severe day by day. In addition to this, the hands of the laborers who had taken part in the removal of Inari suddenly cracked and became sore. They, too, were greatly troubled because it seemed the divine punishment of Inari. Moreover the speech in which the wife of the lieutenant had received the divine oracle gradually leaked out among the laborers of the arsenal and the trouble was greatly increased. Then the lieutenant was no longer able to put it aside. On the seventh of last month a small shrine was placed under a maple tree on the left side of the north gate of the arsenal and the Inari was removed to its original place. On the ninth of last month with great ceremony a commemoration festival was held, a day of rest granted to all the laborers at the arsenal. Superstition concerning Inari is something with which even a soldier cannot interfere recklessly.

Japan Harbinger.

Translated from the *Yorozu Choho.*

Japanese remedies figure in proverbs, as may be seen by a few illustrations, as follows:

"There is no medicine for a fool."

"Medicine costs nine-fold."

"After ginseng, death by hanging." Because ginseng is so expensive, the man who uses such a costly medicine, will be driven to suicide to escape bankruptcy.

"Good medicine is bitter to the mouth."

"Dragon's blood is a sure cure for syphilis."

And the fact that a doctor does not always practise what he preaches, or take what he prescribes, and may not keep

himself well, is illustrated, in a concise manner, by the proverb *Isha no fuyōjō* ("The doctor's carelessness").

But we must now bring these notes to a close before we succumb to the temptation to enter upon such enticing topics as exorcism, fox-possession, badger-possession, etc.

THE

TEN BUDDHISTIC VIRTUES.

A PAPER

ON

Buddhism's Second Great Virtue:

Not Stealing.

BY

JOHN LAIDLAW ATKINSON.

1907.

A FORE WORD.

I think that the proper title for this series of discourses would be this: Japanese Popular Buddhism—Its Ethics. The discourses were evidently delivered to a mixed audience of priests and laymen. They are certainly of a scholarly character, and therefore appropriate for an audience of some mental training. The quotations from Sacred and Classical books, shew that the Preacher gave his audience credit for considerable intellectual ability and attainment.

This discourse is apologetic, controversial and hortatory. We see by it the condition of Buddhism in Japan at that time—the latter half of the eighteenth century—and the somewhat strained and antagonistic relations that existed between Buddhist and Confucian scholars.

The discourse is long, but has much of interest even for men of to-day.

J. L. A.

THE TEN BUDDHISTIC VIRTUES.

THE SECOND VIRTUE: NOT STEALING.

By JOHN LAIDLAW ATKINSON.

This sermon was preached on the 18th day of the 12th Month of the 2nd year of An-ei. This, according to Bramsen's Tables, corresponds to January 30th, 1774.

The preacher—Katsuragi Ji-un—said: "To-day I am going to preach on the precept "Not Stealing." It is written in the book Kegon-Kyo that the Bodhisatva of Shō-puchu-to is always content with his own and never takes or injures the things of others. The idea of stealing never enters his mind. He does not take even a blade of grass unless it is given to him. This is the true mind of a Bodhisatva. It is the characteristic of their nature, that is, it is the nature of the Bodhisatva not to steal, and this nature never changes

The Bodhisatva Nature.

The nature of fire is heat, and the nature of water is wetness. The heat of fire and the wetness of water never change, because such is their nature. Thus it is with the nature of the Bodhisatva. It is written in the book Ritsumon that there was a priest—"Biku"—who lived as a hermit in a secluded spot. A demon deity—"Ki-shin"—frequently appeared to him and told him that great treasure was concealed near his hut. The priest told this to the all-wise Buddha, who replied, "Change the place of your hut." It is also told of another that on one

occasion when he went to a temple to worship, in his absentmindedness he left his jewelled necklace under a tree where he had rested. Others passed by the tree and saw the necklace but did not touch it. This is the ordinary righteous character of disciples of Buddha. In the Bodhisatva this righteous nature is perfected. Thus as the precept prohibiting theft is the very nature of the Bodhisatva, so also are all the precepts. In this respect as the nature of fire and of water never change, so the nature of the Bodhisatva never changes. Their nature is as staunch and as stable as a rock of gold.

It is written of the Buddha, that in the incarnation when he was a powerful and poisonous serpent, as he was once chased by a mountaineer, he stopped short in his flight and gave his skin to the hunter. A holy sage will never commit the sin of killing any living thing, even though he may have been born in a butcher's shop.

The precept that follows the one of "Not-stealing" is the one that prohibits adultery. This means that it is the nature of the Bodhisatva not to commit adultery. As wetness is the nature of water and heat the nature of fire and hardness the nature of minerals, so the precept "Not committing adultery" is the nature of the Bodhisatva. This nature of purity never changes even when it comes in contact with beautiful women. The sacred books give many examples that illustrate this fact.

The next precept is "Not lying." As wetness is the nature of water, heat the nature of fire and hardness the nature of minerals, and as that nature never changes, so it is with the nature of the Bodhisatva. No matter what the circumstanocs may be, they never change or tell a lie. This principle applies to the Bodhisatva in their attitude toward each and all of the Ten Virtues. They are born with this unchanging nature: hence they perfectly conform to the Ten Precepts and Virtues.

(The Preacher repeats his statement of its being the nature of water to be wet, of fire to be hot, of metals to be hard, and of the nature of the Bodhisatva to be equally unchanging, until

he has rehearsed each and all of the Ten Precepts and Virtues. He then says:)

Order Yet Impermanence.

If we carefully observe the revolutions of the sun, moon and stars, we learn that from ancient times until now there has been no confusion or change in the law and order of nature. The failing of rivers and the crumbling of mountains shew that there is a destiny of things in their building up and in their breaking down. The thunder and the earthquake also shew that constant change is going on in nature. By considering the facts that the moon waxes and wanes, and that all things fade and fail after flourishing for a time we learn what the conditions of life in this world are. The fact that birds have feathers shews that we must have clothing for our bodies. As we notice that worms eat earth and that butterflies suck honey from flowers, we learn that we must have food for our mouths to eat. Wasps build themselves nests, and this teaches us that we must have houses to live in. Spiders when stung by bees run hither and thither over the green leaves of the *Yam* in the field. By observing this we learn that we must have medicine for our illnesses. When one knows that law and order in nature are never deranged he will unvaryingly cling to the Path of Màn. Such a one will never envy the rich, even though he himself may be poor; neither will he be envious of those in high position, though he himself may be in a low one. When one understands the principle of waxing and waning he will never be disturbed by the conditions of profit or loss. He will not become luxurious when he is rich; nor will he be regretful if he should become poor.

When one understands the laws of constancy and of change he will fear nothing. When in conditions of distress even he will be at ease. He will always live carefully and prudently. When one knows the true harmony there is in nature he will always keep to his station in life. If one understands that food, dress, house and medicine are all

provided for him, he will cease being anxious about anything, and will steadily do his duty in life. All things that can be seen with the eyes and heard by the ears are such as to illustrate the precept "Not stealing." From birth until death the true nature of this precept is revealed by all things that we see and hear. Even from the beginning of the universe, and down to its destruction all things reveal the true nature of the precept "Not stealing." For instance, when one is born relatives come with gladness and prepare garments with which they dress the new born babe. They also gladly render other services and perform various ceremonies. All this is because of the virtue of "Not-stealing" in a previous incarnation. The same is true when a prince or noble is born. The four seas rejoice over such a birth. When such die after living out their fixed period of time the eight musical sounds cease, and they are buried with prayers and ceremonial offerings. This is equally true of the virtuous of lowly position and rank. When a friend dies all others mourn. All this is the fruit-like result of virtuous conduct in not stealing in a previous incarnation. It is in such things that the root and fruit of right conduct in not stealing are clearly seen.

It is true that there have been those who, though not stealing in a previous life, have been poor and even beggars, and some of whom have even died of starvation. The Chinese sages Haku-i and Shikusei were of this number. Their death by starvation was not owing to the vice of stealing in a previous incarnation. These men were brothers. In their day there was a revolution in their country, and an evil administration displaced a virtuous one. These men were so grieved that they refused to eat, and so died of starvation. Such cases, however, are exceptions to the rule.

The Law Everywhere Apparent.

In this world there are the true Laws which endow it with great good. Those who have open eyes can see these Laws as clearly as they see the sun and moon. So long as there are such

human beings in the world the Ten Virtues will always be manifest, no matter whether the Buddha was born into the world or was not born into it. Those with ears can hear these Laws as distinctly as they can hear the rolling thunder; and that, no matter whether the Buddha was born into the world or was not born into it. There are, however, those whose ignorance and whose struggles to possess the transient things of this world are so great that they can neither hear nor see the true Laws. There are also those who are so proud of their wisdom that they fall into the trap of unreason—"*Hi-ri.*" There are also those who say that the Laws of the Ten Virtues are for priests only to observe, and they affirm that their observance by ordinary persons would make them weak and cowardly. This is certainly a grave mistake. Cowards and weaklings are those who do not know what "Man's Path" means and involves. If one will devoutly keep the Precepts of the Ten Virtues, he will become both strong and brave, no matter whether he be priest or layman. A Confucian book says—"If I have nothing to be afraid of in myself, I can go out to fight giants and myriads of men." This is what I mean: True courage comes only from true goodness. Another Confucian books says, "Good men—"*Jin-ji*"—are always brave, though all brave men are not good." True courage invariably springs from true goodness. Courage that springs from any other source is as exceptional as the wading of an angry tiger through a river.

When Buddha was in the world the King of Bimbasara of Maghada was his contemporary and was widely known as a most benevolent ruler. While he was yet a Crown Prince his country was weak, and the neighboring country, Angya, was strong. Once every year an Imperial Messenger came from Angya to Maghada to collect tribute. On one occasion this messenger met Prince Bimbasara on the high road, but, coming from a superior to a subject country, he did not alight from his vehicle to make obeisance to the Prince. The Prince was

indignant at the rudeness, and asked his chief officer who the man might be who was guilty of such unseemly conduct. The officer replied that the man was the Imperial Messenger of Angya who was on his way to collect the annual tribute from the Prince's country. On this the Prince rebuked the Imperial Messenger and told him to return to his Master, and not attempt to do so rude a thing as to collect tribute from a country that was as strong and as independent as his own. The Messenger without a word of reply turned about and returned to his own country and reported to the King the words of the Crown Prince. The King of Angya was indignant on hearing the report and at once despatched another Messenger to Maghada, to say that since tribute had been annually paid to Angya from the time of the previous King it must still be paid, and that the Crown Prince must be sent to him as a hostage, and assurance given that the tribute would continue to be annually paid as before. The threat was also made that if these demands were not acceded to an army would be sent to enforce them.

The King of Bimbasara and his ministers on hearing the demands of the King of Angya were much alarmed and found it difficult to frame a reply. The Crown Prince on hearing of the demands and the dilemma of the Court ordered the Ministers of State to reply to the King of Angya that the Crown Prince himself would go with an army to Angya, and that the King might come out to do battle with him if he would. A battle ensued and the Prince defeated the King, took his country from him, and then governed both countries with great benevolence. This incident illustrates what I have already said, that the courage that has its springs in benevolence is very strong.

It is written in the book Sōden that a certain general, who went out to put down a rebellion, took with his army, not only the usual materials of war, but various other articles—"Roku-sui-nō" (filtering bags?)—that would be useful to soldiers, to non-rebels and also to vanquished rebels. This was adversely criticised

by an officer of State as being productive of effeminacy in the army which should be inured to hardness and bravery, as its business was to destroy life and not save it, and that the effects of kindness and gifts of useful articles to the vanquished would be to encourage them in their rebelliousness. The general replied that he thought otherwise, and that his going out to battle was to destroy only those who were actively rebellious. When this work had been done, he said, then those who had surrendered, or who had not been active in rebellion, should be assisted and saved. The book affirms that the rebels surrendered when they heard of the general's benevolent intentions—"*Jin-ai.*"

At the time that Buddha was in the world there was a vicious and poisonous dragon in the country of Keihin, and it was doing great harm to the people. The Arhats—"*Rakan*"—of high virtue were called to the rescue, but they were unsuccessful in their efforts to expel the creature. There was, however, a young Arhat who by a single word of command expelled the dragon from the country. When asked by the elder Arhats of the particular virtue that he possessed that enabled him to overcome and expel the dragon, he said, "As you all know, I have no particular virtue that is superior to the virtues of my fellow-arhats, and if there is any difference, it is in the fact that I have held fast to the virtue of obstructing every inclination to sin." This incident illustrates the power of the virtue of circumspection and benevolence.

Again, it is written in a sacred book that on one occasion a dove was pursued by a falcon, and, being hard pressed, the dove took shelter in an open hall where Sariputra and Buddha were seated. When under the shadow of Sariputra it trembled with fear, but when it changed its place to the shadow of Buddha it rested content. The reason for this was the fact that Sariputra had still a trace of the sin of anger in his mind, while the Buddha's great benevolence shone out from his face and form. It was the perception of this that gave content and

safety to the dove in the shadow of Buddha. This incident shews that there is no reason in the teachings of Buddhism for both priests and laity that those who keep Man's Path should be either weak or timid.

Objections to Buddhism.

Some say that since Buddhism teaches only the discipline of the mind by the mind itself it is of no value to the masses, and that for the same reason it is of no value to those who govern the masses. Confucianism, it is said, teaches the regulation of conduct by forms, ceremonies and rules of etiquette. Because of this Confucianism is of the greatest use to both the subjects of a country and to those who govern them.

This objection to Buddhism and appreciation of Confucianism is made by those who do not really know what Buddhism is, and who have seen only its shortcomings which arose after the dynasties of Sō and Gen. Buddhism certainly teaches the Ten Virtues. By this teaching even ordinary men can regulate themselves and their homes, and can thus walk in the right path. Kings and Princes can also govern their subjects by this teaching and make their reigns peaceful and prosperous. They and their people together by myriads can thus walk in the holy path. By these teachings priests can make their own minds and bodies pure, and can teach the laity to do the same. Priests by meditation can make their bodies restful and quiet, and can teach the laity to do the same. By the acquisition of wisdom priests can make their minds and bodies clean and can teach the laity to do the same. If there is but a single holy man—sage—in a country, he is a boon to it, even though no one knows of his existence. Should an occasion arise to call him out of the deep valley and thick woods in the midst of which he lives, all eyes would be turned toward him when he appeared. The discipline of the mind by the mind itself, as taught in the book Angon-kyo, is not such foolish teaching as it is supposed to be by those already mentioned, who are opposed to it, and who favor Confucianism.

There are also some who say that nothing is taught by Buddhism about the way of administering the affairs of a country and the methods of domestic economy. This also is a mistake that results from the ignorance of the objector. These persons have read only the books written by the preaching class of Buddhist priests; yet they think that these books contain all the teachings of Buddha. The Mahayana—"*Dai-jo-kyo*"—and the Hinayana—"*Sho-jo-kyo*"—have teachings for Kings, Princes and Ministers of State, and give methods for the administration of the public affairs of a country, and for the conduct of the homes of the people. These sacred books also teach merchants how to acquire wealth, and they teach wives how to serve their husbands.

Chief Object of Buddhism.

The chief object of Buddhism is, without doubt, to teach the method of securing emancipation from the bondage to birth and death. Because of this the teachings suitable to the secular world are given only partially and in abbreviated forms, while the teachings for the Holy Path are given in full. Thus, while the teachings for one side are fully given, and those for the other less fully, yet the Path in which man should walk in both the secular and the sacred life is set forth in the teachings of Buddha.

Other Objections.

Others who oppose Buddhism say that the doctrine of vacuousness, nothingness, annihilation—"*Jaku-metsu*"—is very profound and in that respect is superior to "The Great Learning" of Confucius, but that it is of no practical use.

This also is a mistake of ignorance made by those who think Buddhism to be only such as is taught by the priests of the Zen sect, who do not know the real principles of Buddhism; or such as is taught by other priests, who have only a smattering of knowledge, and so speak chiefly of names and ceremonies. If one will but think deeply of Buddhism, it will be found that its teachings are useful for the world at large,

and cannot be wisely ignored by man even for a moment of his existence.

Buddhism was introduced into China about 2700 years after the death of Buddha in India. From China it came to Japan; yet from the first these teachings of the Ten Virtues have not changed in the least. These teachings bring happiness to the homes, and peace to the rulers and superior men of a country, to the extent that they are practiced. The truth of Buddhism should be firmly believed.

Again, it is objected that the teaching about abstinence from a flesh diet, and about living an unmarried and sexually pure life is necessary for the purification of priests, and of those who would be holy men, but that the observance of these things is not necessary for ordinary men.

This is a mistake that is made by those who have observed the evil practices of the priests of the Shingon and Tendai sects in their prayer-incantations when attempting to exorcise evil spirits. Buddhists who practice the true and secret teachings do not pray for happiness in this world, or for this world. Merely teaching people to abstain from a flesh diet and from sexual intercourse is a trivial matter.

The Judge of Hades and Amida.

Other objectors say that Buddhism is self-contradictory, since it teaches that the Judge of Hades—"*Yemma-ō*"—never forgives but punishes even the smallest sin; while, on the other hand, it teaches that the compassion of Amida—Buddha—is so easy-going that he saves all, irrespective of their sins, from falling into the hells and receiving their due punishment. It is evident, these say, that with such teaching as this the time will never come when men will cease from sinning.

This jeering objection is made by those who have chiefly observed the errors of the priests of the Jodo sect. If, however, the Sankyo, Ichiron and other books are read, it will be found that no such erroneous teachings are given. Indeed the priests of the Jodo sect, who fully understand the teachings of

their sect, do not make such self-contradictory statements. They never teach that the performence of good deeds can be suspended even for a moment.

Again, there are objectors who say that Buddhism makes men mean and contemptible in character, dissolute in conduct, and causes them to confuse the morals of etiquette.

This objection is made by those who know only the erroneous teachings that are given out by the present day priests of the Zen sect. Priests of the Zen sect of adequate learning are neither base nor contemptible in character, nor dissolute in life, nor do they confuse the morals of etiquette. They are on the contrary circumspect in all things.

Others say that Buddhist believers gradually become more and more foolish. They shed tears when they accidentally kill even a small insect; and as they care only for happiness in a future state, they foolishly waste their property, and give their most precious things to the priests. They are also so ignorant that when they step on a cat or a dog they at once reverently worship it. They either do not know, or they disregard, the great principles of Buddhism, and are intent only on the observance of the small rites.

This objection is made by those who take note of the erroneous teachings of the present day priests of the Risshu sect. Worthy and true Risshu priests both teach and observe the great principles of Buddhism, and at the same time are careful to observe the smallest rites and ceremonies.

Others say that Buddhism teaches only pity—"*Ji-hi*," while Confucianism teaches benevolence—"*Jin*."

These teachings are similar, but Buddhism makes the equality of all animate objects a fundamental matter. Thus Buddhism teaches that pity should be given equally both to one's parents and to all other animate things. One may ask, "Is it not unfilial to treat parents, and insects and animals alike"? The question is a carping and unreasonable one, since Buddhism teaches distinctions of grade and position.

The equality it teaches is not such foolishness as that of breaking down high mountains, filling in deep valleys and making all into a dead level. Buddhism does not teach us to obey parents, to serve superiors, to govern the people and to be kind to animate things in the same indiscriminate way. These are all taught separately and with distinctions. For instance, there is the case of a priest—"*Biku*"—who lived at a time of famine when Buddha was on earth. The priest seeing that Buddha had nothing to eat sold his stole—"*Kesa*"—and bought food which he offered to him. Buddha chided the priest for the act, and told him that it was a sin for a priest to sell his stole for any other reason than to aid his parents in a case of great need. Then, too, there are the sacred books, Kōshi-kyo and Fubo-on-nanbo-kyo, which teach the duty of serving one's parents, which Buddhism regards as of great importance. So far as Buddhist teachings go, there is no reason why believers should be unfilial or disobedient to their parents. It is only those scholars who do not know what is really taught in the sacred books who teach otherwise. Those objectors who have but little understanding and wisdom imagine that the little they know of Buddhism is the whole of its teachings. Confucian scholars look with contempt on both the Nature Cult and on Buddhism, while those of the Nature Cult attack both Confucianism and Buddhism. In this both sides are equally foolish. Any one custom or art that has had the usage of thousands of ages—"*Ban-dai*"—must have some merits.

How much more true must this be of religious and moral teachings. One must enter into and study sympathetically any religious teaching that he would understand. It is only inferior and reckless people who speak evil of a teaching of which they know nothing. It is a matter for regret that at the present time there are so few really great men either in the world at large or among Buddhists. Because of this the true teachings fall into a decline and lose their power. Of late many new sub-sects have sprung into being; and these in their mutual

antagonism, and thinking only of their own gain, quarrel with one another and sweep away the true laws of Buddhism. There are Buddhists and Buddhists—"*Yū butsu to Mū butsu*"—and the teaching of the Ten Virtues is now in the hands of non-precept—"*Mu-kai-ha*"—precept-breaking sects. These sects, urged on by a natural feeling, seek for a name and for gain for themselves alone; and as their priests run wildly about to acquire these they come to hate the Ten Virtues as a thief hates a light in a dark night. It is a grave error on the part of these priests that they do not themselves practice the Ten Virtues. It is quite natural, in view of the fact that they do not practice them, that men of learning and of clear understanding should not believe in Buddhism.

General Principles.

Just as heaven and earth exist, so also are there various countries in existence. Sun, moon and stars move according to the laws of heaven, while mountains, seas and rivers are governed by the laws of earth. As there are various countries, so there exist men to inhabit them. The lords and superior men of these countries are the laws according to which the people are governed. Parents and elders are the laws according to which homes and families are governed. Where there is neither heaven nor earth, there there is no country and no people. Wherever men exist there also is the teaching of the moral and religious "Path of Man." There is no land where people dwell that is destitute of the Path of Man, which includes the great Path, the small Path and the wrong Path.

Suitability in Teachings.

There are, however, superior countries and inferior ones. There are also in them wise men and ignorant men. Because of this the teaching of one country is not necessarily suitable for another. The teaching that is suitable for the guidance of one may not be suitable for the guidance of another. The teaching suitable for the wise may not be suitable for the ignorant, while that which is suitable for the ignorant may not be suitable for the wise.

The teaching for men is not suitable for women, while the teaching for women is not suitable for men. The teachings and etiquette suitable for the superior men are different from those suitable for the inferior ones. Barbarians regard with contempt the etiquette and ceremonies of the civilized, while the civilized regard with contempt the etiquette and ceremonies of the barbarians. This may be considered as natural, and as a matter of course, for it is true of only the teachings of the Ten Virtues that they never change. Throughout all the ages, both ancient and modern, and throughout all lands they constitute the suitable and true Path for both the wise and the ignorant, the superior man and the inferior man, and for both men and women.

Comparison of the Sacred and Secular Paths.

I will now proceed to compare the Great Path with the secular, or Confucian, and wise men, parting with their prejudices, should listen with impartiality to what I say.

Komei-kyo and others taught that the precept "Not to kill any living thing" corresponds to Philanthropy—"*Jin*"—of the Confucian; that the precept "Not stealing" corresponds to Righteousness—"*Gi*"—; that the precept "Not committing adultery" corresponds to etiquette—"*Rei*"—; that the precept "Not telling lies" corresponds to fidelity—"*Shin*"—, and that the precept "Not drinking intoxicants" corresponds to wisdom—"*Chi*." As there does not appear among the Ten Virtues the precept "Not drinking Introxicants," the wisdom—"*Chi*"—of Confucianism may be said to correspond to the precept "Not being heretical or skeptical."

According to my opinion the precept "Not killing any living thing" does not correspond to the Confucian term, Philanthropy. This term—"*Jin*"—is a Chinese teaching that has been handed down from very remote ages, and its original meaning is obscure and difficult to understand. Some think it is the principle of love and virtue in the heart, while some think it is love and love only—"*Tada ai nari*." Others think

it is the name, or repute, or virtue, by which rulers govern their subjects. Kanyei, an eminent Chinese scholar, has said that "Path" and "Virtue"—"*Dō and Toku*"—are but empty names, while Philanthropy and Righteousness—"*Jin and Gi*"—are fixed names. The scholar Sō-shu has said that the famous robber Tō-seki used the words Philanthropy and Righteousness when speaking of his own deeds. Kampishi and other scholars have also said that Philanthropy and Righteousness are nothing but empty names. In view of these opinions it is evident that the terms and their supposed meanings are only suitable for discussion among scholars, and are not truths, or a Path, that can be taught to all people, no matter whether they are noble or base, wise or ignorant, men or women, and which can be readily understood and easily practiced by them. The precept "Not killing" is of this character, and it is most important to teach it to every one, as it is a great sin to kill, injure, or cruelly abuse any living thing.

This precept can be taught equally well to all classes of people—to kings, to their ministers, to noble men, to base men, to retainers, farmers, artizans, merchants and servants; and it can be readily understood and easily practiced by them all, because all know that every living thing is related to human beings. Should a person keep this precept for but one day, he has during that day performed the deeds of a holy sage. Should one keep this precept an entire year, he will have performed during that year the deeds of a holy sage. Should one keep this precept during an entire life, he will have performed during that life the deeds of a holy sage. If all through a life, both here and hereafter, one should keep this precept, he will have performed during this combined period the deeds of a holy sage. If one should keep this precept in this way from his birth onwards, he is in truth a Bodhisatva. If also one family will keep this precept, that family does the deeds of a holy sage. If a single village will keep it, that village does the deeds of a holy sage. If one entire country keeps this

precept, it does the deeds of a holy sage. If all countries should keep it, they likewise will have done the deeds of a holy sage. When this comes about, then, and then only, can all lands be spoken of as the Buddha's Paradise.

The precept "Not stealing" is said by some to correspond to righteousness—"*Gi*"—, but the comparison is not a suitable one. The teaching concerning "*Gi*" has also been handed down in China from ancient times, and its meaning is obscure and difficult to understand. It can only be said that "*Gi*" is "*Gi.*" In one book it is interpreted as *appropriateness.* In the book Rai-ki it is written that "the father being benevolent, the children filial, the elder brother considerate, the younger brother amenable to his elder brother, the husband just, the wife faithful, the rulers humane and the retainers loyal—these all constitute righteousness—"*Gi.*" The scholar Kokushi* said that Philanthropy—"*Jin*"—is that which is within, and Righteousness—"*Gi*"—that which is without. On the other hand Mencius argued that Righteousness is that which is within. All this shews that the interpretation differs with different scholars. Even rulers and nobles, from ancient times until now, have been unable to understand and practice its meaning, unless possessed of much learning. It is very amusing to hear the various interpretations. It is plain, however, that "*Gi*" is not a teaching that is suitable for the instruction and guidance of all men in all ages and all countries, irrespective of their position in life and of their wisdom or ignorance. It is written in the book Shi-ki that the cause of discord in the country at that time was that the relations between the upper and lower classes were confused. When Kwo-ki, an ancient Chinese ruler, first established the laws of etiquette and worship he himself carefully observed them. Because of this his reign was peaceful and prosperous. In later ages rulers became luxurious and

* Kokushu was a contemporary of Mencius, and the two disagreed in their views of the state of Man's Original Nature. Mencius claimed original righteousness for it, while Kokushu argued for its original depravity.

dissolute, and cared but little about the observance of the laws by themselves. The result was disaffection in the country and mutual recrimination between the ruler and the people—the people claiming that their rulers were destitute of both Philanthropy and Righteousness. The inevitable result of this conflict and confusion was the breaking down of the laws of etiquette and of worship, and, at length, the breaking up of the country that had been established by their ancestors.

Now Philanthropy and Righteousness are excellent and useful teachings when they are understood and properly applied, but they become a source of discord in a country when not understood or when misapplied.

Universal Suitableness of the Precepts.

The precept "Not stealing" can be taught to all, nobles and commoners alike. Even holy sages of the highest virtues cannot immaculately keep this precept to the full extent of its meaning. The precept that forbids the stealing of any thing that belongs to another forbids also the careless use of articles borrowed from others. It also requires an early return of articles borrowed from others. It is thus a teaching that can be taught to, and practiced by, even foolish women and servants. Instructed and guided by this precept even foolish and ignorant people can be led on and up to the high rank of the holy sage. This Path is one that can be taught to, and practiced by, all kinds of men in all ages, and that too whether they are kings, princes, nobles or ordinary people. It can also be taught to, and practiced by, both civilized men and barbarians; and since this precept, "Not stealing," can thus be taught to, and practiced by, all people everywhere, it is called "The Way" *par excellence.*

The wise man by not keeping this precept will lose his wisdom, while adversity will befall the ignorant man who breaks it. The rulers and nobles of a country must keep it, or their country will not enjoy peace. The inferior classes must keep it, or their families will be ungovernable. Even those living in

civilized and prosperous countries must keep it, or they will lose their civilization, their prosperity and their homes. The people also of uncivilized lands must keep it; for if they do not, adversity will fall on them and on their posterity. This is true of all ages and all nations, both ancient and modern. For all lands and for all peoples, ancient and modern, this is the one true "Path."

The Law of Etiquitte.

The precept "Not committing adultery" is said by some to correspond to "*Rei*", the Chinese term for the law of etiquette, decorum, order. This opinion is wrong. In ancient times the laws of etiquette—"*Rei*"—were not considered applicable to the lower classes, and the upper classes were not punished for their violation. Thus the laws of etiquette were not regarded as applicable to all classes irrespective of rank or education. Now the precept "Not committing adultery" is for all classes, and must not be broken by any. Rulers, nobles and common people alike must keep it, as no rank or condition in life exempts one from the duty. The laws of etiquette, on the other hand, can be kept only by the learned.

It is said of Confucius that he went to the province of Shū to consult with the scholar Kōshi about the meaning of the ideograph for etiquette—"*Rei*." This shews that its meaning is obscure, and that it is difficult to teach to the unlearned and to barbarians. These laws of etiquette cannot, therefore, be called the true Path for the learned and the unlearned alike.

It is not so with the precept "Not committing adultery." Even those who have read a myriad volumes cannot escape suffering if they break it, and, in extreme cases, their homes will be ruined. Those also who have read only a single book, or who know but one Chinese ideograph, will suffer similar consequences for breaking it. The precept is for all.

It is written in the Chinese Analects—"*Rongo*"—that in ancient times when a ruler was crowned the Laws of etiquette—"*Rei*"—required the use of a crown of hemp, while in modern times the same laws require the use of a crown

of silk, because of the increased prosperity of the country. Thus the laws of etiquette, or their application, differ according to the age. It is written in the book Gakki that five consecutive Emperors failed to inherit each from the other a taste for music, and that three consecutive ones failed to inherit the same laws of etiquette, because of the changed condition of the times. The In dynasty inherited the "*Rei*" of the Ka dynasty but with many changes. The Shu dynasty inherited the "*Rei*" of the In dynasty but greatly changed them. Thus the laws of etiquette—"*Rei*"—change according to the age.

It is not so with the precept "Not committing adultery." Rulers and nobles who do not keep it bring ruin to a country, while the inferior masses by breaking it ruin their families. The precept is unchangeable, and is not to be modified to suit the times, whether ancient or modern.

Again, the laws of etiquette differ with the times. For instance, they are different in a year of plenty to what they are in a year of famine. It is not so with the precept "Not committing adultery." This remains the same during all the years, irrespective of their being years of plenty or of famine.

Again, the laws of etiquette differ according to the country. China has those which are peculiar to itself; so also has India, and so has Japan. Then, too, the laws of etiquette that are suitable for civilized lands are not suitable for lands that are uncivilized. This statement is universally true. It is different with the precept "Not committing adultery." In China those who break it injure their own bodies and destroy their homes. This is also true of persons who break this precept in my own country. It is also true of those of uncivilized lands who break it. They all injure their own bodies and bring distress on their homes and countries.

Again, the laws of etiquette differ with rank and position. There are those for rulers, those for ministers of state and nobles, those for officials and retainers, as well as those for

fishermen, grooms and others. Each of these must observe the laws that are appropriate to his rank and position. It is not so with the precept "Not committing adultery." This is for all classes alike; for emperors, nobles, officials and retainers down to fishermen, grooms and others. All who keep the precept will be benefitted thereby all through their lives, while any who break it will similarly suffer.

This precept, bearing as it does on the relations between men and women, can be easily taught, easily understood and easily practiced by every one. This precept exists together with heaven and earth, is co-extensive with them, and applies to all ages, to all lands, civilized and uncivilized, and to all peoples; hence it is not to be disregarded by any. Insurrection in a country often results from the violation of this precept. Order and decorum between the members of families must be based on its faithful observance. All classes of persons, high and low, wise and ignorant, men and foolish women, great and small alike, must make this their Path. Those who keep it circumspectly will receive the providential aid of heaven, of the gods and of earth. The one Path for all lands, and for all times, ancient and modern alike, and which abides the same for all, is indeed and in truth this precept—"Not Committing adultery."

I do not say that all laws of etiquette should be ignored or dispensed with. I do not say that they are useless. I do not say that if one will keep this one precept there is no necessity for observing the laws of etiquette. On the contrary I say that all men should strictly keep this precept in mind, but should also observe the laws of etiquette pertaining to their country and their homes. There will then be no need for the correction of either.

Do not associate, nor become too familiar with, men and women of any other mind. Husbands and foolish wives should keep this precept and not be dissolute or wanton. All men, from rulers and their ministers and nobles down

to the lowest classes, if taught and led by the virtue of Chastity—"*Teisetsu no toku*"—will attain to the rank of holy sages.

Fidelity. The precept "Not lying" has been said from ancient times to correspond in meaning to the ideograph for fidelity or sincerity—"*shin.*" It is true that the two terms—"*Fumōgo*" and "*shin*"—have practically the same meaning. The term for sincerity, however, loses both its name and its value when interpreted by the scholars of Sō. By the precept "Not lying" the use of falsehood is prohibited; so also is the breaking of a promise. If all classes are taught this precept and controlled by it, they will become both sincere and true—rulers, nobles, officials and common people all alike. Should those who govern cease from using deceit, the people would delight in and honor them, as they delight in and honor the sun and moon. Then, on the other hand, if the people will cease from knavish tricks, their rulers will regard them as their own children. Rulers and officials, who keep this precept with truth and sincerity and whose conduct is governed by it, are truly faithful men. Gyo and Shun of China were such rulers, and Shoku, Kei, Kō and Tō were such officials and retainers. All who keep this precept for months and years attain to the rank of holy sages.

Wisdom. The precept "Not being heretical or skeptical" is said to correspond in meaning to the ideograph for wisdom—"*Chi*", but this is not so. Wisdom is merely a term used to distinguish between ignorance and stupidity and learning. As the number of ignorant people

Note.—The Chinese ideograph "*Rei*", which is usually translated Laws of Etiquette, or Laws of Rites and Ceremonies, and includes the politenesses that are to be observed by the various ranks and classes of people in a country in their various relations to one another, seems to mean, or include, also both the laws of good order in general that are to be observed in all court, official, political, religious, moral and social functions and relations by rulers, officials, priests, worshippers, families and subjects, and likewise the forms of politeness in social relations that are usually called Etiquette.

is large and the number of the learned is small, wisdom is not a Path common to all classes. There is also ambiguity in the meaning of the term. As the eminent scholar Zobu-chū uses it its meaning is not understandable. The Emperor Chū of In said that the term is useful in making remonstrances, but this is not a happy interpretation.

It is otherwise with the precept "Not being heretical or skeptical"—*Fu-ja-ken.* If any one by keeping this precept will perform a meritorious act, he will receive an appropriate reward. If one by breaking this precept does an evil deed, he will suffer fitting punishment. If retribution does not befall such a one in the present life, it will surely befall him in the life to come. Do not regard this lightly. In this world there are kings and their ministers, also wise men and sages. Do not regard them lightly. There are also Buddhas and Bodhisatvas in the world. Do not regard them lightly, that is, do not disesteem any of them. There are also gods. Do not regard them lightly.

All classes, from rulers and nobles down to servants, fishermen and the most inferior, can be taught this precept "Not being heretical", and can be led to practise it. If one will keep this precept for a single day, he will have done the meritorious deeds of a holy sage for that one day. If one will keep it for an entire year, he will have done the deeds of a holy sage for that year. If one will keep it through an entire life, he will have done the deeds of a holy sage for that length of time. If one family keeps this precept, it does the deeds of a holy sage. If one village keeps it, it does the same. If a country keeps it, that country does the deeds of a holy sage. If the whole world—"*Tenka*"—keeps it, the whole world does the deeds of a holy sage. If one will keep this precept in mind, and will cultivate his character by means of it, he will receive the providential aid of Buddha and the gods—"*Butsu-Jin no Myo-jo*"—in all that he does, since he will be acting according to the will of heaven. He will also attain to the rank of wise man

and holy sage. If we open our eyes and look on the world with right views, we shall see that there is no country that does not belong to Buddha, no living thing that is not Buddha's child, and no Path that is not Buddhism.

A Summary.

It is written in the Nirvana-Sutra—"*Nehan-Kyo*"—that all the varied opinions and enchantments discussed and employed are Buddhism. Philanthropy—"*Jin*"—is one section of the precept "Not killing." It is by keeping this that rulers, wise men and sages save their people. Righteousness—"*Gi*"—is a division of the precept "Not stealing." It is by keeping this that wise men and sages regulate their conduct. The laws of Etiquette—"*Lei*"—are a branch of the precept "Not committing adultery." The keeping of this is the means by which the upper and the lower classes alike save themselves from harm and perfect the family lineage. Fidelity—"*Shin*"—is a branch of the precept "Not lying," and its dué observance is helpful in regulating the affairs of life. Wisdom—"*Chi*"—is a branch of the precept "Not heretical or skeptical"—"*Fu-ja-Ken.*" It is the Path by which great men and men of purpose attain to the knowledge of reasons and principles, and so become enlightened. Besides these there are many other teachings, but originally they were all one—"*Fu-ni.*" It is thus that in one precept all the precepts are included. In the Path of Man all teachings are harmonized; and since originally all things, root and branch, were not two, but one, men now by exercising their minds can find the true Path anywhere. It is well to teach the doctrines of Philanthropy and Righteousness—"*Jin-Gi*"—, and it is also well to teach the other doctrines of Buddhism.

No Esoteric or Exoteric Teachings.

When one speaks in criticism of the depth or shallowness of the precepts, the depth or shallowness is in his own mind. When one in the same way speaks of their advantage and disadvantage, the profit or loss is in his own mind. Some who know neither ancient nor modern teachings recklessly say that there are

esoteric and exoteric—"*Nai-Ge*"—teachings in Buddhism. This is a mistake as there have been no such different teachings from the beginning. The so called esoteric and exoteric teachings are only in the mind of the objector. It is truly regrettable that Buddhism is thus misunderstood. The preaching priests of the present day say that Buddhism is a teaching that is deep and high; yet notice this, that when Buddha was in the world he gathered together heaven-dragons, outcasts, beggars, and ordinary men and women, and taught them the things that are now contained in the sacred books. His teachings certainly have meanings that are both deep and high, yet any one giving good attention to them can obtain a good understanding of them. There are no reasons to the contrary; for, though both deep and high, the teachings are not difficult to understand. It is the Chinese scholars of the middle ages who, by exercising their wisdom and learning in the interpretation of the teachings, have made them appear difficult to understand. The scholars of a later period developed deeper doctrines, and thus, after a time, the present system of Buddhist teaching came into existence. It was not so in the day of the Buddha and the holy sages. However minutely and skilfully the so called deep and high teachings are set forth, they are useless for the cultivation of character and for the efficient administration of the affairs of a country and of its homes. They are also in antagonism with the doctrine of deliverance from birth and death, and thus they are in opposition to the mind of Buddha.

Unworthy Teachers. There are those who are teaching and guiding the priests and laity of the present day, who say that it is not necessary either to repent of one's evil deeds, or to cease from doing them, and who also say that both the precepts and the requirements for ascetic austerities or contemplations should be abolished. Let those who have a clear understanding think well of this. When Buddha and the holy sages were in the world, heavenly beings, ordinary

men and women, priests and outcasts, all went on from doing one good deed to doing another. According to their respective circumstances they kept the precepts and practiced ascetic meditation. And now also, so long as man has a conscience, there is no reason why he cannot do these things. Shrewd scholars of the middle ages first taught the worldly men of their day the things they wanted to hear. The scholars who came afterwards, following their natural feelings, did the same. In this way both priests and people lost the knowledge given by the holy sages, and lost also all sense of shame for evil deeds. In more recent times the priest Myo-e has said that if the Buddhism taught by the priests of his day was true there is no teaching in the world that is worse. If such Buddhism is still taught by the various sects, it is not the Path of Man for all ages, ancient and modern, and for all men irrespective of their wisdom or ignorance.

Benefits of Precept Keeping.

Buddhism is a blessing to the world. It is a result of the keeping by our ancestors of the precept "Not killing," that we their posterity live in this world in health and strength. It is due to their keeping the precept "Not stealing" that we have houses, clothing and everything needful for our living in comfort. It is further a result of the keeping of the precept "Not committing adultery" by our ancestors, that men and women now live in love and concord, and have descendants and prosperous families. It is a result of the keeping by ancestors of the precept "Not lying," that with posterity a ruler's laws are obeyed throughout the land, and a master's laws are obeyed in the family. It is because of the keeping of the precept "Not exaggerating" by our ancestors, that as posterity we receive good instruction, and good conduct prevails throughout the country. It is a result of the keeping the precept "Not slandering" by ancestors, that members of families, fathers and mothers, old and young, live in harmony and attend to their respective duties. It is

a result of keeping the precept "Not double-tongued" by ancestors, that with posterity the country enjoys peace, and families live together in harmony. It is a result of keeping the precept "Not coveting" by ancestors, that as posterity we have an abundance of treasure from both mountains and seas, and have tribute brought to us from all lands. It is a result of keeping the precept "Not being angry" by ancestors, that we as posterity are not disesteemed, but are feared and regarded with reverence. It is a result of keeping the precept "Not heretical or skeptical" by ancestors, that the country is free from calamity, has the wonderful protection of the gods and is respected by all lands.

According to the *Hinazana*—"*Sho-Jo-Kyo*"—various advantages can be gained by keeping the precepts, such, for instance, as the opening of the path to Paradise and to Nirvana. In keeping the precept "Not killing" a compassionate heart is developed. From keeping the precept "Not stealing" virtue and happiness result. By keeping the precept "Not committing adultery" conduct becomes pure. By keeping the precept "Not lying" the virtue of veracity is cultivated. By keeping the precept "Not exaggerating" a Nirvana calmness of mind is secured. By keeping the precept "Not abusive" one's language becomes gentle and orderly. It is written in a sacred book that those who attain to the rank of Arhat—"*Rakan*"—smile while speaking, that is, they have attained to gentleness and geniality of speech, All priests can be in harmony with one another by keeping the precept "Not double-tongued." It is written in the preface of a book on the precepts that Buddha delights in the priests who live in harmony with one another. By keeping the precept "Not coveting" a non-covetous spirit is produced. By keeping the precept "Not being angry" the heart is controlled. By keeping the precept "Not heretical or skeptical" the condition of disinterestedness—"*Jin-Muga-ri*"—is abundantly entered into.

Benefits to Priests.

According to the *Mahayana*—"*Dai-Jo-Kyo*"—myriads of benefits are gained by those priests who have acquired knowledge and ability like that possessed by the Bodhisatva. For instance, by keeping the precept "Not killing" they overcome the liability to birth and death of two kinds. By keeping the precept "Not stealing" they adorn the land of rewards—Paradise. By keeping the precept "Not committing adultery" they acquire purity of body and of mind. By keeping the precept "Not lying" the three thousand worlds can be reached—or covered—by their tongues. By keeping the precept "Not exaggerating" delight in the sacred law is acquired. By keeping the precept "Not slandering" easy utterance of the sixty-four tones is gained, and thus the sermons preached reach to the depths of the hearer's hearts. By keeping the precept "Not double-tongued" the four kinds of eloquence are acquired, and also superintendence of the heaven of man with love. By keeping the precept "Not coveting" the four ascetic contemplations are performed. By keeping the precept "Not being angry" there comes from the resulting wisdom great pitifulness. By keeping the precept "Not heretical or skeptical" Buddha's wisdom is entered into.

Benefits to Laity.

By the keeping of these precepts the laity receive the benefits of a well administered country and happy homes. By the keeping of these precepts by those who have forsaken their homes—novitiate priests—the benefit of the knowledge of the way necessary to deliverance from birth and death and from all kinds of ascetic contemplations is acquired. It is written in a sacred book—"*Daruma Darazen-Kyo*"—that it is by the keeping of these precepts that the thirty two marks which characterize, or differentiate, a Buddha appear. Another sacred book—"*Sasha-Kyo*"—says that the keeping of the precepts is the foundation, or root cause, of these marks, and that aside from this there is no reason or cause for them. The mysterious fruit—"*Myo-*

Kwa"—of three bodily forms is also the result of keeping the precepts. These bodies are the Law or Spiritual body—"*Ho-shin*"; the compensation body—"*Hō-shin*", and the transformed body—"*O-shin.*"*

This physical body of five feet in height that we are born to, and which has the Buddha nature, is the shadow, or result, of keeping the ten precepts. This is an interesting fact. Thus one's happiness or misery, length of life, rank, wisdom or ignorance, relatives, virtue and fate are all settled, and as they cannot be changed, each must bear his own condition or fate. A child cannot suffer an illness in place of its father, nor can a father suffer an illness instead of his child. Fate and conditions being already settled (when one is born into this world) with their incident happiness or misery, neither can be taken from one by less or more in order that another may receive of them less or more. This is according to the Buddha nature. To illustrate, suppose the case of a great king, who reigns over many countries, and who divides his dominions among his able retainers. After a time some of these will have an abundance, while others will not have enough; still, the gain resulting from the good management of those who have an abundance cannot be appropriated and given to those who, because of bad management, have not enough. Notwithstanding this difference of results, the king is still one and supreme over all his dominions.

It is thus with the precept "Not stealing"—and with the other precepts too: the virtue and happiness resulting from their observance are equally obtainable by every one, yet by the same law-nature the fate, or result, is different. Some countries are large while others are small. Some families are rich while others are poor. Some men are fortunate while

*法身—*Hō-shin* is the material body produced through the operation of the Sacred Law.

報身—*Ho-shin* is the Intellectual, or immaterial, body produced from the Law by the action of wisdom.

應身—*O-shin* is the Ethical body, or form, produced by the action of benevolence through the Law.

others are unfortunate. Thus the good or bad qualities, or results, of their deeds are different according to the measure of their observance of the precepts.

Rich people can give alms to the poor without impoverishing themselves, while the poor cannot give without becoming more destitute. When one is in poverty even his relatives will forsake him, but when one is in prosperity even those who have been at enmity with him will become as brothers. Though the qualities and results of deeds that can be seen with the fleshly eyes are thus different, the nature of the sacred law is one and equal and just.

Why have the rich an abundance, even though they give alms to the poor? It is because their wealth is like the products of the mountains and seas that are inexhaustable. Why do not the poor have enough, even though they receive alms and borrow from others? It is because the poverty of the poor is like adding fuel to fire. Why are the unfortunate forsaken even by their relatives? It is because they are like a barren land where neither trees nor plants grow. Why do those who have been at enmity with one when he is in a state of poverty become as brothers when prosperity comes to him? It is because the prosperous become as sweet flowers that attract butterflies and bees.

Those who live at ease through a knowledge of the law-nature give of their substance to the poor without fear of their resources being exhausted. When one knows that from the beginning the law-nature is without defect, he is a fire to which fuel is constantly added, and, being at ease about his fate or destiny, neither begs nor borrows from others. For the same reason one is not distressed when solitariness befalls him. The law-nature is perfect, and is like a fragrant flower that attracts butterflies and bees; hence members of a family do not quarrel with one another. The law-nature is perfect; hence those who have obtained true ease of mind by the knowledge of it become rulers of the three worlds. There is no decreas-

ing of this and increasing of that, neither is there any taking from one to give to another. This being the law-nature, he who steals a single needle, or a single blade of grass, is a thief to that extent. He who steals gold, silver, rice or other grain is a thief to that extent. He who takes a country or province from another by violence is a thief to that extent. The working man who is paid for a day's labor, and yet fails to do a day's work, is a thief to that extent. A child who has received his body, rank and property from his parents, whose riches they were, and yet is unfilial, is a thief to that extent. A retainer who receives from his over-lord rank, reward and all material things necessary for himself, for his wife, for his children and servants—all of which are his lord's wealth—, and yet is disloyal, is a thief to that extent.

At the time of Shunjū of China, Yojō treated Hanchu-Koshi as a laboring man, because in former times he had been treated in that way by Hanchu-Koshi. Then Chikaku gave a province to Yojō, because in former times Yojō had given one to him. Goyō-Taifu did not remonstrate with his lord on the occasion of some misunderstanding, because he thought it would be useless to do so ; but when the country was in danger of attack from an enemy he left and joined the enemy. Hyōdō is said to have served five dynasties. In this way the enemy of yesterday is the friend of to-day. This may be tolerated as a matter of friendship, but it is not permitted by the laws of the relations of lord and retainer. In the Chinese classics men of the foregoing sort are largely spoken of as faithful, patriotic and wise—"*Gishi Kensha.*" The precepts of the Ten Virtues do not allow such disloyal deeds. The great teacher, Nanzan-Daishi, has said that the perfect keeping of the precept "Not stealing" is possibly difficult for a virtuous person. If this is so, it must be much more difficult for officials who deceive their superiors, take bribes and treat the people cruelly. These are the great thieves.

The law-nature being thus, the Bodhisatva not only do not steal themselves, but they teach and cause others to do no stealing. Average people can guard their conduct by this precept, and by applying it to themselves and to their homes can have an abundance. Rulers and nobles who govern and educate their people with this precept will have an abundance throughout their dominions. The rich who guard their conduct by this precept learn that luxery is a useless thing, while the poor learn by it their limitations, become content with their lot and do not become sycophants.

An Incident.

The following incident is given in the book Ritsuzo. When Buddha was in the world he went at one time with five hundred priests—"*Biku*"—to the province of Soraba. At a place called Biraniza there was a Brahman residing. This Brahman asked the Buddha and his five hundred followers to accept his offering—"*Kuyō*"—of hospitality during the ninety days of the summer rains. The Buddha by silence indicated his acceptance of the courtesy. In the course of the night the Brahman saw in a dream a castle enveloped in a seven-fold wrapping of cloth. He called in a learned man to interpret his dream. This man was a believer in another Way—"*Sedō wo shinji*"—and hated Buddha's teachings; and, although he knew of the benefits derivable from Buddhism—"*Fuku-toku,*" he told the Brahman a lie and gave a false interpretation to the dream. He said that the dream threatened a great evil, but whether it was that a powerful enemy would come and take the country by violence, or that the Brahman would die in the near future, he did not know. The Brahman then asked in fear what he should do in order to escape the danger, whichever it might be. The learned man said, "Go to the inner court of the palace and spend the ninety days of the rainy season with the women, seeing no outsiders and speaking to none." The Brahman followed these instructions, retired into the inner part of the palace and enjoyed there the pleasures of sense. He con

sequently forgot to make the offerings of food to the Buddha that he had promised.

At that time there was a famine, and there was no one to make offerings of food to the Buddha and his five hundred followers. A dealer in horses who came from another country made an offering of barley—horse's food. The Buddha and his followers accepted and fed on it, but they grew thinner every day. Mokuren then asked the Buddha if he should send or go to Hoku-Kurushū for wild rice, or if he should ascend to *Tori-ten*—a Buddhist heaven—and obtain some of its honey-dew—"*Kanro.*" The Buddha replied that there being now many like Mokuren who had supernatural power, the rice of Hoku-Kurushū and the honey-dew of Toriten could be secured without difficulty, but he asked what would be done in future times when there would be no one possessing such power? Mokuren could make no reply to this, hence he withdrew from Buddha's presence. Ananda then presented himself and said that, as both Buddha and his disciples were suffering from lack of food, messengers should be sent to Kapilavastu, the Buddha's home, to obtain food-offerings from relatives, and thus give blessing to the givers and comfort to the receivers. Buddha replied that, as both he and his followers had relatives, it was an easy thing to obtain food from them, but what could be done in later ages when the priests who were in want had no relations? Ananda replied to this that messengers should be sent either to King Bimbasara of Maghada, or to King Hashi-no-toku of Sravasti to obtain offerings of food. Buddha replied that they were very fortunate to have such faithful followers as those kings, who would give an abundance if asked, but what could the priests in the later ages do when in want and there were no such faithful and generous followers. Ananda was unable to reply, so he too retired in silence from the presence of Buddha. Thus both Buddha and his followers fed throughout the rainy season on barley, the food of horses. Because of this state of things the Brahman repented of his error, and

his belief increased. This is a good example for the unfortunate disciples of Buddha in the later ages to remember. Think of this carefully because of the profound instruction that it contains.

Though there are both rich and poor in the world, there is but one law in the hearts of men. It is written in one of the classical books that when Confucius met with great misfortune at Chin and Sai he played on the harp for his disciples, and said that, although he was neither a wild ox nor a tiger, he was an outcast in the wilds, and his teaching was regarded as an evil thing. This also is a good example for both superior and inferior men to bear in mind when misfortune comes upon them.

While men are in this world they have their own particular interests, superiors their's and inferiors their's, and neither must defraud the other. The precept "Not stealing" applies to men of rank, office and wisdom; for none of these things should be stolen from anyone. The precept also applies to the three precious things of Buddhism—the Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood—which are not to be stolen. It also applies to the five elements—earth, water, fire, air and space.

The benefits of keeping the precept gained by superior persons are that they become rulers of countries, obtain the wealth of high office, have beautiful palaces to live in and the delicacies of mountains and seas for food along with all other luxuries.

The benefits gained by inferior persons are smaller dominions and relatively less of other things. The benefit to merchants is that, observing the time, they by one stroke of business make large profits. The benefit to farmers and peasants is that all their lives they have the satisfaction of receiving the fruits of the earth. Similarly fishermen receive fish and other products of the sea. Physicians, scholars and artists also gain suitable benefits. The benefits for the inferior classes are such work as the rowing of boats on rivers and seas, the running of errands and the doing of similarly interesting work. It is written

in the book Shikyo that there are ears of grain that are not gathered and tufts of grain that are not cut, all of which are for the benefit of widows. It is thus that widows can live at ease. This is an interesting statement.

Some farmers steal land by using for themselves—instead of for their over-lords—the ridges of land that separate the fields of rice. Others steal water by diverting to their own rice fields, during the five or six months of drought, that which should flow into the fields of other men. Again, fire is stolen by taking the light from others on a dark night, and by taking away the fire on a cold night and using it recklessly for the stealer alone. Wind is stolen by so deflecting it that it will cool only the stealer's house. There is also a theft of knowledge, a theft of rank, a theft of meritorious deeds, a theft of office and of other similar things. It is also stealing to appropriate the things of Buddha —"*Butsu-motsu*"—for the use of the Law and of priests. It is stealing, moreover, to use the things of the priests—"*Sō-motsu*"—for Buddha and the Law. It is also stealing to use the things of the Law—"*Ho-motsu*"—for Buddha and the priests. These things are all minutely set forth in the canons and the commentaries. Foolish and ignorant people think that this teaching is unnecessarily strict, but it is not so. This is the character of the law-nature. The Buddha-law is the Buddha-law. The Way is the Way. The Ten Virtues are the Ten Virtues, and Man is Man. Thus the standing rank of the great world is fixed.

So long as this world endures Brahma—"*Bon-ō-taishaku*"—is its king and does not move from his throne. It is through him that the sun, moon and stars move in undisturbed order. It is through him also that the relations of men in the world of men—"*Nin-Kai*"—are regulated, where a man's life may be a hundred years, a family's life a thousand years and a country's life a myriad of ages. It is through him that rulers are ever rulers and that retainers are ever retainers. Even though an over-lord has an ugly countenance and is also ignorant and stupid, retainers must esteem him as their lord,

since this is the virtue of a retainer—"*shin-toku.*" They must not deprive him of his rank and his throne.

Historic Incidents.

(The preacher from this point adduces examples, from Chinese history of kings, who for good reasons, or for self indulgence or otherwise unworthily have ceded their thrones to chief retainers and others, and likewise of retainers who, sometimes for good reasons, but more frequently in a seditious spirit by means of plausible lies have deprived their over-lord of his throne and dominions. At the end of each series of such incidents the preacher remarks that such rulers are not worthy of their land, and that such disloyal retainers are unworthy the name of retainer. He follows this by saying that "This world would be dark indeed, if it were not for the Ten Virtues."

Reasons for Japan's Blessings.

And continuing he says:) In Japan from ancient times the Emperor's throne has been established and protected by the Ten Virtues, and the administration of affairs has been transacted according to them. Because of this we enjoy the hundred blessings and live in a land that is far superior to what China was in the times of the holy sages.

If we consider minutely these Ten Virtues, we find that their meaning is very profound. It is written in a sacred book that when Buddha was in the world there was a priest named Hōken, who, after he had received the precepts, went to the Buddha and, worshiping him, asked what he could practise in order to attain to the Holy Path. The Buddha replied that he must never take anything that was not his own. The priest, "*Biku*", again worshiping, withdrew and went and sat under a tree in order to meditate on the meaning of what had been said to him. He thought that the meaning could not be merely that he should not take the gold, silver, rank or office of another, and it occured to him that the house, property, rank and office that he had before he became a priest could not be his. He next thought that his wife and his concubine and other

members of the family he had could not be really his own. He then thought that his body with its five feet of stature could not be his, as it was only a part of the flesh and blood of his father and mother, who had fed, nourished and clothed it from the time of his birth, and that it would ultimately become dust of the earth. He then thought of his eyes as his own, but that as objects are seen only by the conjunction of the eye and of color, space and light, and the eye is merely a reflecting mirror for fleeting images, and not itself a reality, he could not claim even the eye as really his. Then he thought of his ears as beyond a doubt his, but decided that as ears, like eyes, are a part of the body, and it is by the conjunction of ears and sounds that one hears—mere echoes—, these also could not be his own. He next thought of his mind, which distinguishes between good and evil and between right and wrong, and asked himself whether he might not claim this at least as his own; but he decided that since the mind of itself does not know itself as mind, and the terms, mind and will, are names given from without, and hence are mere shadows, not realities, these too were not his own. At this point he became wholly separate from himself and entered into and attained unto Arhatship.

Think of the precept "Not stealing" with this illustration in mind, and then see how deep its meaning is. Only deep thinkers can fathom it. While this is true, yet from the beginning all classes of men on the earth, from the lowest up to Arhats and Bodhisatvas, by keeping it have attained to a position of ability to save others. All this is involved in the precept "Not stealing."

It is written in the book Kegon-kyo that the sin of stealing causes all guilty of it to fall into the three evil ways (of transmigration)—"*San-Aku-Dō*"—and that all such, even if born again into the world of men, will suffer two fruits of their sin, namely, poverty and inability to live where and as they desire. Is this hard to believe? Think of it with the principles according to which the world is governed. Subjects who commit

small thefts are punished according to the laws. This is true of all countries and in both ancient and modern times; though it is not always true where great robbers are concerned. Den robbed Sei of his country. Ken, Gi and Cho divided Shin among themselves. These great robbers by their great sin gained enormous wealth. The book Sōshi says that gold, silver and jewels can escape small thieves, but that big thieves steal both the treasure and the boxes which contain it. Ordinary thieves are afraid of punishment, but great robbers, like those mentioned above, not only do not fear punishment, but they steal also the strict laws according to which they should be punished; so that while the poor men who steal little things—"*Kagi*"—are punished, the men who steal countries become princes. It is said that humanity and justice, "*Jin-Gi*," are found at the gate of Princes, but is not this a stealing of humanity and justice? In every country excess of severity in one direction and excess of leniency in another invite stealing, and this should be guarded against.

China is indeed the land of etiquette and arts—"*Reigi-Bunbutsu*"—which after all are not particularly useful to a state, as the many wrongful seizures of countries there shews.

(The preacher then gives a few condensed illustrative incidents of such stealings, and shews that punishment at last falls on the evil doer though he may enjoy his ill-gotten gains and glory for a season.

Conclusion. He then proceeds to say:) Deeds spring from mind. Where there is mind actions arise. When principles are transgressed the law-nature is marred. There is certainly a hell, and there are worlds of famishing human beings and animals. Those who steal are made to suffer poverty when they are again born into the world of men. The five cereals when sown by such persons are sure to be injured by snow and by hail-storms. Those who steal act contrary to the Buddha-nature, which is without flaw and perfect, they become out-

cast people of the lowest class. Only those who circumspectly and reverently keep this precept of "Not stealing" have their own homes and store-houses safely and permanently filled with treasure.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms in the Methodist Publishing House, 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, March 20th. Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, the Vice President for Tōkyō, occupied the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., then read extracts from a paper by Rev. J. L. Atkinson, D.D., of Kobe, on "The Ten Buddhistic Virtues," with special reference to the "Second Virtue" of "Non-stealing." After the Chairman had expressed the thanks of the Society to both Dr. Atkinson and Dr. Greene for this instructive paper,

Prof. Lloyd rose and remarked that 15 or 16 years ago there used to be in Tōkyō a society called Juzenkwai (Ten Virtues Society), belonging, he thought, to the Shingon Sect. The president of this society was a venerable priest named Unrho. There was also a magazine called *Juzenkwai-Zasshi*, bundles of copies of which may now be found in second-hand book-stores. When he read some of these magazines, he was very much pleased with their general tone, and he thought that some articles from them would make good illustrations for this paper. Moreover, some weeks ago he met an old pupil, a Buddhist priest, who stated that he was going to compose a treatise on Buddhist financial theories. This paper by Dr. Atkinson seemed to him to contain financial ethics.

The following is a summary of Dr. Atkinson's paper prepared by Rev. C. H. Shortt, of Tōkyō:

The paper consisted mainly of a Sermon which was preached by Katsuragi Ji-un on the 18th day of the 12th month of the 2nd year of An-ei, which corresponds to the 30th of January, 1774. The preacher began:—"To-day I am going to preach on the precept 'not stealing.' It is written in the book Kegon-Kyo that the Bodhisatva of Shōpuchuto is always content with his own and never takes or injures the things of others. The idea of stealing never enters his mind. He does not take even a blade of grass unless it is given to him. This is the true mind of a Bodhisatva. It is a characteristic of their nature, that is, it is the nature of a Bodhisatva not to steal, and this nature never changes. The nature of fire is heat and the nature of water is wetness. The heat of fire and the wetness of water never change—because such is their nature. Thus it is with the nature of the Bodhisatva." The preacher then illustrates this by several anecdotes and repeats his statement of its being the nature of fire to be hot, of water to be wet, of metals to be hard, and of the nature of the Bodhisatva to be unchanging, until he has rehearsed each and all of the ten precepts and virtues. He then says:—"If we carefully observe the revolutions of the sun, moon and stars, we learn that from ancient times until now there has been no confusion or change in the law and order ef nature. The falling

of rivers and the crumbling of mountains show that there is a destiny of things in their building up and in their breaking down. The thunder and the earthquake also show that constant change is going on in nature. By considering the facts that the moon waxes and wanes, and that all things fade and fail after flourishing for a time, we learn what the conditions of life in this world are... .....When one knows that law and order in nature are never deranged he will unvaryingly cling to the Path of Man. Such a one will never envy the rich, even though he himself may be poor; neither will he be envious of those in high position, though he himself may be in a low one. When one understands the principle of waxing and waning he will never be disturbed by the conditions of profit or loss. He will not become luxurious when he is rich; nor will he be regretful, if he should become poor ..... All things that can be seen with the eye and heard by the ear are such as to illustrate the precept 'not stealing.' From birth until death the true nature of this precept is revealed by all that we see and hear. Even from the beginning of the universe on down to its destruction all things reveal the true nature of the precept 'not stealing.' For instance, when one is born relatives come with gladness and prepare garments with which they dress the new born babe. They also gladly render other services and perform various ceremonies. All this is because of the virtue of 'not stealing' in a previous incarnation. The same is true when a prince or a noble is born. The four seas rejoice over such a birth. When such die after living out their fixed period of time the eight musical sounds cease and they are buried with prayers and ceremonial offerings. This is equally true of the virtuous of lowly position and rank. When a friend dies all others mourn. All this is the fruit-like result of virtuous conduct in not stealing in a previous incarnation. It is in such things that the root and fruit of right conduct in not stealing are clearly seen. It is true that there have been those who, though not stealing in a previous life, have been poor and even beggars and some of whom have even died of starvation. * * Such cases however are exceptions to the rule."

He goes on to confute those "who say that the laws of the Ten Virtues are for priests only to observe, and affirm that their observance by ordinary persons would make them weak and cowardly." True courage that springs from any other source is as exceptional as the wading of an angry tiger through a river. Then follow several anecdotes in illustration, ending with this one:—'Again, it is written in a second book, that on one occasion a dove was pursued by a falcon, and being hard pressed, took shelter in an open hall where Sariputra and Buddha were seated. When under the shadow of Sariputra it trembled with fear, but when it changed its place to the shadow of Buddha it rested content. The reason for this was the fact that Sariputra had still a trace of the sin of anger in his mind, while the Buddha's great benevolence shone out from his face and form. It was the perception of this that gave content and safety to the dove in the shadow of Buddha. This incident shows

that there is no reason in the teachings of Buddhism for both priests and laity that those who keep man's Path should be either weak or timid." The preacher then refutes a number of objections to Buddhism, showing that they are the mistakes of ignorance made by those who think it to be only that taught by the priests of some one sect. "Buddhism was introduced into China about 2700 years after the death of Buddha in India, and from China it came to Japan; yet from the first these teachings of the Ten Virtues have not changed in the least. They bring happiness to the homes and peace to the rulers and superior men of any country, to the extent to which they are practised. The truth of Buddhism should be firmly believed". Then follows an elaborate comparison of the great Path with Confucianism, or the sacred with the secular.

In the course of it he says—"The precept 'not stealing' is said by some to correspond to righteousness—'*gi*'; but the comparison is not a suitable one. The teaching concerning *gi* has also been handed down in China from ancient times and its meaning is obscure and difficult to understand. It can only be said that *gi* is *gi*."

"The precept 'not stealing' can be taught to all, nobles and commoners alike. Even holy sages of the highest virtues cannot immaculately keep this precept to the full extent of its meaning. The precept that forbids the stealing of anything that belongs to another forbids also the careless use of articles borrowed from others. It also requires an early return of an article borrowed from another. It is thus a teaching that can be taught to, and practised by, even foolish women and servants." "Some who know neither ancient nor modern teachings recklessly say that there are esoteric and exoteric—*nai-gi*—teachings in Buddhism. This is a mistake."

"This body of five feet in height that we are born to, and which has the Buddha nature, is the shadow or result of keeping the Ten Precepts. This is an interesting fact. Thus one's happiness or misery, length of life, rank, wisdom or ignorance, relatives, virtue and fate are all settled, and as they can not be changed, each must bear his own condition." "The law-nature is perfect; hence those who have obtained true ease of mind by the knowledge of it become rulers of the three worlds. There is no increasing of this or decreasing of that, neither is there any taking from one to give to another. This being the law-nature, he who steals a single needle or a single blade of grass is a thief to that extent. He who steals gold, silver, rice or other grain is a thief to that extent. He who takes a country or a province from another by violence is a thief to that extent. The working man who is paid for a day's labor and yet fails to do a day's work is a thief to that extent. A child who has received his body, rank and property from his parents, whose riches they were, and yet is unfilial, is a thief to that extent. A retainer who receives from his overlord rank, reward and all material things necessary for himself and for his wife, his children and servants—all of which are his lord's wealth—and yet is disloyal, is a thief to that extent." Several historical incidents are rehearsed and then the preacher says:—"In Japan and

from ancient times the Emperor's throne has been established and protected by the Ten Virtues, and the administration of affairs has been transacted according to them. Because of this we enjoy the hundred blessings and live in a land that is far superior to what China was in the time of the holy sages."

He relates how when Buddha was in the world a priest named Hoken went to him "and asked what he could practise in order to attain to the holy pattern. The Buddha replied that he must never take anything that was not his own. The priest, *Biku*, again worshiping, withdrew and went and sat under a tree in order to meditate on the meaning of what had been said to him. He thought that the meaning could not be merely that he should not take the gold, silver, rank or office of another, and it occurred to him that the house, property, rank and office that he had before he became a priest could not be his. He then thought that his wife, his concubine and other members of the family he had could not be really his own. He next thought that his body with its five feet of stature could not be his, as it was only a part of the flesh and blood of his father and mother, who had fed nourished and clothed it from the time of his birth, and that it would ultimately become dust of the earth. . . . . He then thought of his mind which distinguishes between good and evil and between right and wrong, and asked himself whether he might not claim this at least as his own, but decided that since the mind of itself does not know itself as mind, and the terms mind and will are names given from without, and hence are mere shadows, not realities, these too were not his own. At this point he became wholly separate from himself, and entered into and attained unto Arhatship. Think of the precept, 'not stealing', with this illustration in mind and then see how deep its meaning is. Only deep thinkers can fathom it." In conclusion he says "Deeds spring from mind. Where there is mind actions arise. Where principles are transgressed the law-nature is marred. There is certainly a hell, and there are worlds of suffering human beings and animals. Those who steal are made to suffer poverty when again born into Man's world. The five cereals when sown by such persons are sure to be injured by snow and by hail-storms. Those who steal act contrary to the Buddha-nature which is without flaw and perfect; they become out-cast people of the lowest class. Only those who circumspectly and reverently keep this precept, 'not stealing', have their own homes and store-houses safely and permanently filled with treasure."

Books received by the Librarian from Feb. 20th to March 20th, 1907.

Japan as it was and is. Hildreth—Clement, presented by the author.
Japan: its History, Arts, and Lit., Brinkley. 8 vols.
China: its History, Arts, and Lit., Brinkley. 4 vols.

Pamphlets and Journals.

Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. LX. pt. 4.
Zeitschrift der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, vol. XXXVI. pt. 6.
Journal of American Geogr. Society, Dec., 1906.

Geographical Journal, Feb., 1907.
Journal of Lisbon Geogr. Soc., July, Aug., 1906.
Journal of Imp. Russian Geogr. Soc, vol. XLII., 1906.
Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc., London, Jan., 1907.
Journal of Geological Survey of India, XXXIV. pt. 3., 1907.
Journal of Geological Survey of Canada, Nos. 923, 928, 939, 949, 959.
Report of Comr. of Education, Washington, vol. 2., 1904.
Report of Washington Acad. of Sciences, vol. VIII. pp. 197—406.
Report of U.S. Nat. Museum Bulletin, 39 parts P. and Q.
University of Colorado Studies, vol. IV. 1.
Museo Nacional de Montevideo, vol. III. 1.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift, Jan. 1907.
Batavia Dagh Register for 1678.
Circular of the newly formed Japan Society of America.

A. LLOYD.

20th March, 1907.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan* was held at the Society's Rooms, No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, January 23, at 4 p.m. Mr. J. Mc. D. Gardiner, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting, having been published, were taken as read.

The lecture of the afternoon was then delivered by Dr M. Anezaki, Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University, Tōkyō, on the subject "Some Problems of the Textual History of the Buddhist Scriptures." As his paper was too long to be read in full, he presented only the introduction.

An interesting discussion followed, but since the paper is not to appear until a subsequent volume of the Transactions, the record of the discussion in also deferred.

Prof. Lloyd, Librarian of the Society, then read the following report on "Some Recent Additions to our Library":—

1. Mr. John Grant, publisher, of Edinburgh, has presented the Library with a copy in 2 vols. of a new and revised edition of Keene's History of India, revised and brought down to comparatively recent times. The book has been written for students, and is therefore very concise, but each section has a good list appended of authors to be consulted for the particular topic. For Japanese students, or persons studying India, as most of us would do, from a Japanese standpoint, certain sections seem to require a more detailed treatment, and I should like to suggest that a very valuable paper for our Society, if any of our members saw their way to undertaking it, would be one in which the points of contact, if any, in the ancient history of the two countries were traced. Japanese

* These minutes, although incomplete, are introduced into this volume of the Transactions, for the sake of the librarian's report which they contain; and yet out of their chronological order, because of the necessary delay in the publication of the paper by Prof. Anezaki, to which they properly belong.

Buddhism is of course derived from India, but there are other points as well, say the legend which identifies Genghis Khan with Yoshitsune, which might be developed with interest and profit.

2. A copy of the 2nd German edition of Nippon by Fr. von Siebold has been placed on our shelves.

3. We have received from Vienna, with a request for review and critism, an extract from the Transactions of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences containing an edition, with Text in Pali and Romaji, Introduction and Notes, of an old Burmese Book, *Rajawan*, or the *History of the Kings*. It describes the foundation of the ancient Burmese, or perhaps better Peguan, Kingdom in the beginning of the Christian era, and throws a great deal of light on the chronology of Buddhism. Here again, I take leave to suggest that some of our members, who know German and Pali, would be doing good work by giving us a summary of the main facts in some accessible form.

4. From Batavia we get, as Vol. XLIX parts 1 and 2 of the Transactions of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, an edition, with romanized text and Dutch translation and notes, of a "Chivalrous Romance" from the island of Sunda. The Romance, which dates from the 15th century of our era, and which, like European mediaeval romances, tells of the adventures of a brave knight and his combats with giants, dragons and other monsters, together with the deliverance of helpless beauties from all manner of dangers. Incidentally the book also throws light on the conflict which took place in the Malay Archipelago when Mohammedanism pushed into the islands and drove out the Hindoo and Buddhist beliefs which had preceded it. The Romance was written in a loose unhymed verse, and was intended like the Homeric ballads to be recited with musical accompaniments. Illustrations of the musical instruments used for these purposes are given. They are, as far as I could make out, our old friends the *koto* and *samisen*, and those who hold to a Malay descent for a part at least of the Japanese people may perhaps find some confirmation of their theory.

We have further received:

Journal of the Royal Grographical Society. Dec. 1906.

American Geographical Society. Nov. 1906.

Chinese Recorder. Jan. 1907.

Washington Academy of Science. Dec. 1906.

Royal Society of Edinburgh. Vol. XXVI. pt. 5

Royal Society of London Biological Sciences. Dec. 1906.

Royal Dublin Society Economic Proceedings, vol. 1 pt. 8. Scientific Proceedings vol. XI. 10 pt. 62.

Vesterreichische Monatschiift fur den Orient. Nov. 1906.

Al. Moktabas. (Cairo) Zeitscheift der deutschen Morgen landischen Gesellscheft vol. LX. part III., 1906.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

BY DR. M. ANESAKI

NOTES ON THE JAPANESE DRAMA

BY PROF. ARTHUR LLOYD

DAZAI ON FOOD AND WEALTH

BY R. J. KIRBY

THE FORMATIVE ELEMENTS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM

BY PROF. ARTHUR LLOYD

TOKYO, 1908

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

Asiatic Society of Japan
General Meeting

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Society's Rooms on January 23, 1907 at 4 p.m. J. McD. Gardiner, Esq. Vice-President for Tokyo occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting, having been published, were taken as read. The lecture of the day was then delivered by Dr. M. Anesaki, Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University, Tokyo, on the subject, "Some Problems of the Textual History of the Buddhist Scriptures.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.

BY DR. ANESAKI.

The subject on which I am allowed today to read is a very obscure and perplexing one even for specialists. The whole result of my studies will be printed, and though it may seem a mere series of tables, it will really be found to embody a long history of the Buddhist Scriptures and the painstaking labours of many translators up to the end of the 5th cent. A.D.

As a short introduction to the whole matter, I shall begin with the traditions concerning the compilation of the Buddhist Scriptures.

The tradition generally accepted by all Buddhists ascribes the first compilation of the sacred writings to an assembly of Buddha's disciples held immediately after his death. It is believed that this first Council, or Sangiti, finished the compilation of (1) all sermons and utterances of Buddha, (2) all regulations and rules of discipline, and (3) the explanations and expositions of Buddhist doctrines composed by Buddha's leading disciples. These three make up the Three Baskets (tripitaka), so-called because Indians keep their manuscripts in baskets. Leaving the latter two divisions out of consideration, our first question is whether the sermons of Buddha, now called the Sutta-pitaka, were really compiled at so early a date. To this question we must answer decidedly, no. The present Sutta-pitaka, as it exists in both Chinese and Pali, shows not one stratum of composition, but many. Some texts are cited in others. Some sermons are mere duplicates of one another, in the same words and sentences, addressed to different persons. Sometimes a long series of hymns is incorporated in the sermons under very different circumstances. These and other facts point to a gradual accumulation of materials, and to a later compilation of those materials in

systematic forms. Just as Christ's sayings were handed down first in the form of Logia, so it must have been in the case of Buddha's. This is shown partly by the existence of a short collection of his sayings in precisely the Logia form. The collection is entitled "Itivuttako", *i. e.*, "So was spoken", and each of its simple parts begins with the formula, "This was said by the Lord, &c." (see Buddhist and Christian Gospels, pp. 79-80). Moreover, that most of these sayings were transmitted in verse is shown by the existence of a text named "Dhammapada", or the verse of the Faith, and by the references to the dhammapadas in some portions of the Sutta-pitaka itself. Around these logia, or verses, long sermons and dialogues must have clustered, whether from the actual reminiscences of direct disciples, or from oral traditions, or, probably not seldom, by way of new interpolations and additions.

But nearly two hundred years after Buddha's death scholars were well versed in the Three Baskets and in the Five Divisions. This last, Five Divisions or Panca-nikaya, meant the division of the Sutta-pitaka into five, as we have it to-day. They are:

1. Digha, Skt. Dirgha, or Long Collection.
2. Magjhima, Skt. Madhyama, or Middle Coll.
3. Samyutta, Skt. Samyukta, or Classified Coll.
4. Anguttara, Skt. Ekottara, or Numerical Coll.
5. Khuddaka, Skt. Kshudraka, or Small Coll.

These divisions, *Nikayas* as they are called among Southern Buddhists, or *Agamas* among Northern, are as old as the 3rd cent. B. C. But the mere existence of the names does not prove that the five divisions at that time were the same in contents and forms as the present ones existing in Pali or Chinese. It was formerly believed by Southern Buddhists and some European orientalists that the present Pali canon represents the original form of the divisions and collections. Leaving the question as to the language of the original compilation aside for the present, we are now in a position to controvert that assumption. The research into Buddhist

scriptures in Chinese has indicated this change of position most decidedly. In Chinese translations there are preserved only some single texts of the fifth, or small, division, but there are complete translations of the other four. I have tried to bring to light the counterparts of these texts in Pali, with results most satisfactory to myself. These two branches of traditions present agreements and deviations in a conspicuous manner, showing that they must have been compiled from the same materials but arranged in different ways by different shools. The tradition preserved in the Chinese versions is neither a corrupted form of, nor a later deviation from, the Pali one, but the two branches of traditions are brothers or cousins. Minute points in proof of this conclusion can only be brought out in the tables to be printed and by actual comparisons of the counterparts. I shall mention only some chief points.

The first three of the *Agamas* agree in their titles with the three Pali *Nikayas*, but in the fourth we meet with a difference, not of meaning, but of idiomatic formation of compounds. It it called in Pali *Anguttara, i. e.* "One part over/after another." The Chinese counterpart for it is *Ekottara, i.e.*, "Increasing one by one."* This difference becomes more interesting when we consider that the numerical division shows the traces of a compilation, latest among the four, in both Chinese and Pali. It is not properly a collection of sermons, but rather a compendium arranged after the number of the topics. This method has its models in some texts of the Long Collection in both traditions, and it is in this numerical division that we have the most quotations, expressly so designated, from older compilations. The difference of the two traditions is not only in the title, but the deviation of single texts and of

* The difference between the Pali Anguttara and the Chinese Ekottara, as indicated by their names, seems to be that in the former the component portions of the Sutras have been so intertwined that they form a complex whole, with one part skilfully laid over the other so as to give the impression of being a harmonious whole, whereas in the Chinese Ekottara the component portions are laid side by side, one after the other, without any attempt at artistic blending. Possibly 'complex' and 'compound' would express the difference of meaning.

their contents, even when they agree as wholes, is most conspicuous. As my researches show, the collections have only ten per cent. of the texts (suttas) in common. Those Pali Anguttara texts which are not found in Chinese Ekottara are found in other Agamas in Chinese, and vice versa. For instance, 70 Anguttara suttas are found in the Chinese Madhyama, though some of them are also in the Ekottara. In like manner most of the Chinese Ekottara texts may be traced in other Nikayas and Agamas. (I have not yet enumerated them.) A comparative examination of the contents of the Numerical Collection themselves on the one hand, and of the deviations of the two traditions on the other, will help us to conclude that the Collection was the latest in origin in both branches of the traditions. The pretension of the Pali tradition to original purity is destroyed, at least so far as this Collection is concerned.

Next we come to the Classified Collection. It is a collection of short sermons, dialogues, hymns, songs and a few tales, classified according to topics and subject matter. This division is found in two Chinese translations, one complete and the other partial. They were hopelessly confused and the title was formerly understood as meaning "miscellaneous." Fortunately I have been able to restore this mass of mishmash to order by the comparison of the two translations and by bringing them side by side with the sister compilation of the Pali text. The results show that it is divided into eight (as against five in Pali) great chapters, or *Vaggas*, and these again into 62 (as against 50 in Pali) smaller parts, or *Samyuttas*. (I shall omit remarks on further divisions.) Of these eight chapters four agree with the Pali in their titles and subject matter as a whole, and one differs in title only, the remaining three being unknown in Pali. But some of the smaller divisions in these chapters, which are not found in corresponding chapters in Pali, are found incorporated in other chapters.

Again, among the 62 smaller parts, 35 are founded on the same principles of classification. (Their titles are lost in

Chinese.) But this does not exclude the supposition that many texts are incorporated in other divisions under different titles. And these smaller parts, samyuttas, common to both, are, again, not quite identical in their composition. Some of them contain some suttas which are not found in Pali, and vice-versa. Even in the case of the three parts which contain exactly the same number of agreeing suttas, the order of successive suttas in them is different. When we examine the suttas, or single units of sermons or dialogues, which are found to agree as a whole in Pali and Chinese, some parts may be made parallel with each other, word for word, but other parts differ considerably. The agreements and deviations may be shown most clearly in the case of verses. Their relations you may imagine by the analogy of the Synoptic Gospels. But I do not mean that the differences between the Chinese Samyukta and the Pali Samyutta are quite of the same character as in the case of the Synoptic Gospels. The two branches of traditions before us seem to have had one original compilation in some form, from which the two have descended; though this conclusion can not be asserted decisively. Their agreements are not only of original raw materials, but of arrangement as well. On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that their deviations are far wider in degree and more remote in origin than the different readings of Shakespeare in the Quarto and Folio. These remarks may be also made of the other Collections.

So far I have spoken of the relations of the Pali Samyutta, on the one hand, and of the two Chinese versions of the Samyukta, on the other. But between these two, the one older and partial, the other complete, there are certain deviations. In some respects one stands nearer to the Pali than the other, and vice-versa. (Example, Vangisa 12.) You will see here how these different traditions differ from one another, but all point to one source.

This Classified Collection is composed of several hundred short suttas. Most of them treat of doctrinal matters, such

as the five constituents of life (skandhas), the six objects and organs of the senses (ayatanas), or of morality, such as mediation, virtues etc. Sometimes one whole chapter consists of tedious repetitions of the same teachings and contents, with few differences, or as addressed to different persons. But some others contain interesting dialogues, parables, songs, lullabies or even parodies of popular songs. It is to be regretted that these texts have not as yet been translated into any modern language, with the exception of a small portion containing dialogues between Mara, the Satan of Buddhism, and Buddha, and those between Mara and the nuns. I shall here read one of these suttas in Fausboll's translation of the Suttanipata. (S.B.E. Vol. X. pp. 25-29, Hemavata.) To this I shall add a ballad. It reads: (S. Vol. I., p. 209.)

(1) Do'nt make a noise, dear Pigankara,
The monk is reciting the verses of the faith.
Give attention to the verses of the faith,
And embrace them, it will be good for us.

(2) Be self-restrained among living beings.
Tell not lies.
Train yourselves in virtue (virtuously).
Then we shall be freed from the womb of demons.

This shows how active Buddhism was in the work of popular propagandism.

When we come to the Middle Collection, the dialogues are longer and some of them have quite a dramatic effect. The whole collection is accessible in an excellent German translation by K. E. Neumann. Returning to the textual question, the texts seem to be as old as in the former collection, or it may be even older. Buddha appears here as a teacher, who conversed familiarly with his disciples, discussed several questions of philosophy and morality with heretics, and led his followers on the path to Nirvana by his own personal example and guidance. In short a vivid human personality of Buddha is conspicuous in these dialogues. The language is free and colloquial. Perhaps the collection furnishes the best materials

available for the study of Buddha's person and teaching.

The collection in Pali contains 125 sutras, as against 222 in the Chinese. Among these, 98 are common to both, and the counterparts agree pretty well with one another. Besides these, 22 Pali Magjhima dialogues are found in the Chinese Ekottara and Samyukta, 70 Chinese Madhyama dialogues in Pali Anguttara, 9 in Digha, 7 in Samyutta and 5 in Khuddhaka. Nevertheless the methods of division into chapters and the order of successive dialogues are quite different. I shall omit other details, because in the paper to be printed I have pointed out the many deviations and agreements between the two versions. Here again the relations of the two traditions point to the sameness of the source and the differences of transmission.

The last one, the Long Collection, contains about 30 long dialogues and narrations. The famous dialogues held just before Buddha's death are found in this, though parts of them are incorporated in other collections also. Generally speaking Buddha appears here with more dignity, and in two of the dialogues he is in close communication with celestial beings. These superhuman dialogues must have given models to the later Mahāyāna texts, as for example the Lotus of the Law, which is the Johannine Gospel and Apocalypse of Buddhism. In this Collection the Pali and Chinese traditions differ from each other least among the four collections. Mr. Nanjio has identified 24 of these dialogues by their titles, but we can now add four to the list, and the comparisons of the contents are quite satisfactory.

So far I have spoken exclusively of the four collections, but now some words must be spoken about the fifth, the Small Collection.

This one contains in Pali 15 texts made up of various ingredients. Among these I have been able to discover up to the present the Dhammapada, the Itivuttaka (Logia), each as a whole, and the greater part of the Sutta-nipata. For the most part the relations existing between the two traditions as to these texts point to the same conclusions, as was stated with

regard to the former. Among these parallel counterparts, the Chinese Dhammapada has later additions, but the Logia in Chinese show a compilation older than in Pali. These will be shown in the new editions of these texts at which I am new working.

Now before concluding my paper I must touch on the question as to the language of these traditions. In which language did the original compilation of Buddhist scriptures appear? Was it Pali? In which language were the texts written which were translated into Chinese?

No scholar can answer these questions with certainty. Many Buddhists and scholars have believed, and still believe, that the original compilation was in Pali. But recent researches show that we must modify this statement somewhat. It is quite natural that Buddha's sayings and other oral traditions should have been in Magadhi, the language spoken at Buddha's time in Magadha, in Central India, where Buddha ministered mostly, and where he had most followers. But this Magadhi language was not quite identical with the present Pali. The home of the Pali language is now sought further south, but with no definite result. That Magadhi contained the most prominent part of Buddhist tradition we can believe as most probable. But did not the language of Kosala come into play as another important factor? Kosala is situated in the north, close to the foot of the Himalayas, and Buddha's native place was there. In Kosala lay the monastery of Jetavana, known as Giwon in Japan. Several hundreds of dialogues and sermons are ascribed to that monastery, and it was Buddha's beloved abode, where he must have spent nearly half of his ministering years. Unfortunately we know nothing of the Kosalan language. A great light will be thrown upon the language of Buddhist scriptures by future discoveries in this field. You may imagine the relation of Maghi to Kosala as similar to that of Greek to Aramaic, to take the analogy of Christian scriptures.

Last, as to the original of the Chinese translations.

Here again the question is quite obscure. What is told of the originals is only that the later translation of the Classified Collection, dated A.D. 435-443, was based upon mss. brought from Ceylon by Tahien some twenty years before the date of the translation. Now we know that at that time some sections of the Ceylonese used Sanskrit as their sacred language. This has been shown by the discovery in Ceylon of some votive stones, on which Sanskrit formulas are inscribed. On the other hand the translations themselves throw little light upon the question. We meet in them some Pali forms, such as Savitti, Kisa, Uttika, Vakkali, but at the same time quite as many Sanskrit forms, such as Rsidatta, Aristha, Asvajit. Turning from these transliterations of proper names to the differences of rendering, which point to difference in the readings from Pali, most of the variants show that they could not have arisen unless at one time the original of the various readings was in a language very akin to Pali. A few examples will suffice:

Sanna—Samma.
Kummo—Kumbho.
dipo——dipo, doipa. &c.

These, however, do not prove that the translations were made from Pali. The variants may have been older then the mss. from which the translations were made, and the mss. may have been already sanskritised from these variants.

Some hints may be taken into account, which suggest the characters in which the original may have been written. For instance, the variants *loka* and *lobha* show that the mss. were written in characters which may easily cause the confusion of *ka* and *bha*. But this is equally possible in the northern and the southern alphabets. To take another, *Talaputa* in Pali is read in Chinese *Calacula* (both transliteration and translation confirm this). Here are confusions of *t* and *c*, *p* and *c*, and *t* and l.

For the present I must satisfy myself with these vague conclusions, or non-conclusions. But one step has been

attained in placing side by side the two branches of traditions, which had probably been separated from each other for over 2000 years. Sisters or cousins meet here. Another step is to reveal their parents or grandparents.

I thank you for your patience in having listened to these dry and obscure matters, expressed in my defective English.

The Chairman having thanked Dr. Anesaki, in behalf of the Society, for his valuable contribution to its Transactions, Prof. Lloyd rose to congratulate the lecturer on the results of his labours which he had that day laid in part before the Society. It cannot indeed be said that the Professor has in any sense reached the end of the road which he has begun to travel; but when he has gone a little further and drawn the conclusions which his researches warrant him in drawing, he will find that he has revolutionized Buddhist scholarship. In Europe and America, scholars have hitherto gone on the assumption that the Pali Scriptures as used in Southern Buddhism represented the original deposit of Sakyamuni's teachings, and have treated the Northern Buddhism, which is based on a few Sanskrit texts and a great number of Chinese translations of Sutras, the originals of which have been lost, as a bastard Buddhism really outside the pale of the Buddhist family circle. If Professor Anesaki has established his point, this will no longer be the case. We shall then have to consider that just as Christ taught in Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine, so Sakyamuni spoke in the vernaculars of Magadha and Kosala, where he spent the greater part of his life, and that the first written records of the teachings were made in those vernaculars. Afterwards an appeal was made to a wider circle of hearers, and the hastily written records took a literary shape. In the case of the Christian books there was a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew (now lost) side by side with a Greek one. In the same way we get a Pali version of Sakyamuni's teachings side by side with the Sanskrit version from which the Chinese

translations were made. Neither the Pali nor the Sanskrit version can claim to be the original, they are sister versions of nearly equal antiquity and equal authority. Neither of these versions was final, each received revisions and recensions before they ultimately came to the form in which we now have them. But it cannot be said that either version claims absolute priority. There are primitive portions in the Northern and Chinese Scriptures, there are later accretions in the Pali Scriptures, and *vice versa* ; and the really original body of teaching can only be got at by a process of sifting and comparing. Herein lies the very great value of the work which Professor Anesaki is undertaking.

Professor Lloyd then proceeded to point out that there was another way of classifying the Buddhist Scriptures with the Small Vehicle (Shojo), the great Vehicle (Daijo) and the one Vehicle (Ichijo), the first being designed to teach a man how to save himself by his own efforts, the second, how to save others, and the third being designed to point a man to a means of salvation by reliance on some outside Being, a Saviour or Redeemer. By the One Vehicle Scriptures most Buddhists denote the Hokekyo (*Saddahrma pundarika*), but in the Jodo and Shinshu sects there are added the three Sutras which speak of Amida and His Western Paradise. These Scriptures teach doctrines so entirely at variance with the rest of the Buddhist teaching, and the conception of Amida is so very much at variance with anything else to be found in Buddhism, that many observers have deemed it to be a totally alien element. He should therefore be very much obliged to hear as to the date at which the Amida idea might be supposed to have come into Buddhism, and at which it might reasonably be concluded that the Amida Sutras had been composed.

Dr. Anesaki replied as follows :—

The questions as to when and where the so-called Mahāyāna texts were mostly composed are obscure ones, which perhaps have no parallelism in the history of the Christian Scriptures. The questions must be attacked from three sides,

i. e., their language, the form of their composition, and the ideas embodied in them. The language in which these texts are written is commonly called the Buddhist Sanskrit, in distinction from the Vedic and the classical. It is not a homogeneous language, but contains heterogeneous elements even within one and the same text. (For example, Dhamacakra, Svastyayana).

I think no scholar can claim anything conclusive as to the nature or origin of the Buddhist Sanskrit; but judging from some texts known to us, we can say, hypothetically, that those texts which seem to owe much to the Agama (or Nikaya) texts are much more heterogeneous than those which seem to represent a further development. The Mahavastu, which is closely connected with another version of Vinaya, known as the Sarvastivada Vinaya, is most prakritic, *i.e.* akin to Pali. The heterogeneity and the prakritic elements decrease in Lalita-vistara, Divyaavadana and also in Saddharma-pundarika. When we come to Vajraccedika and other Prajna texts, the language is more homogeneous, but at the same time becomes more artificial. If we were able to arrange various texts in a series according to to this standard, there would be revealed more light upon the nature and development of the Buddhist Sanskrit. Then the question may amount to this, whether those earlier Sanskrit texts were translations from the original Magadhi, or were dialectic differences coeval with Magadhi or Pali. If I am right in this supposition, then the origin of the Sanskrit texts must be sought for as early as that of the Pali. But this implies, of course, that most of the Mahāyāna texts are later than the Pali texts. The parallel development of Brahmanic literature, from the verse upanishads to the Mahabharata and Manu and the final systematisation of Sanskrit by Panini, probably in the 2nd cent. B. C., point to the conclusion that the flourishing period of the Buddhist Sanskrit was contemporary with this development of the Brahmanic Sanskrit. Then can we assign to it two or three hundred years preceding the Christian era?

The chief characteristic of the Mahāyāna texts is their splendid dialogues, with varieties of situations and persons. But this is only a question of degree. Some of the Nikaya dialogues have these features. A further development of the older dialogues with intermixture of the celestial beings, will make up the Mahāyāna texts. To this change and development the intermingling of commentary may have played a part. This is shown, for example, by the commentary of the Parayama, printed by Faussböll. There Pingiya, a brahmin of the Southern country, after having visited Buddha in the North, comes back to his master and utters stanzas in praise of Buddha's wisdom. Here the commentary adds, "Buddha, knowing this, emits rays of golden light to their seat from the North and these two brahmins see Buddha himself appearing before them surrounded by his saints." This kind of interpolation must have caused the expansion and modification of the original composition. The result may be the present form of the Mahāyāna texts, which are also called the Vaipulya, *i.e.*, expanded texts. Then the final expansion may be of later date, but their original composition and materials may be older than their present form.

As regards the idea embodied in the Mahāyāna texts, it is distinguished by the acceptation of the *ekayana, i.e.* the *one road* leading to nirvana. The Mahāyānists are proud to say that they preach the one road to the attainment of Buddhahood, in contrast to the three roads of the Hinayanists. The three roads mean those of Bodhisattvas, of Pratyeka-Buddhas and of Arhants. This distinction is unknown to the so called Hinayanists. But an undeniable fact is this, that the Nikaya Buddhism has a double morality of monks and of laymen. It is quite natural that those who were dissatisfied with this double morality proceeded to accentuate the one and all-embracing way of salvation. In this feature the Mahāyānists represent an advanced from of Buddhism, which has been pushed to its consequences by Shinran in Japan.

But here again the idea in its essence is not quite foreign

to the old Buddhists. They recognise the one way which has led, and will lead, all Buddhas and saints of the past and of the future to Buddhahood. This I have pointed out in pp. 242-247 of my book on the development of the idea of Buddha's personality. One of the passages, which I adduced in support of this idea of the Ekayana, is, as I have lately discovered after finishing my book, cited by Nagarjuna, the great Master of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, in support of the idea of *Dharmakaya*. Here again the idea itself is not new, but the development must have required a long time, probably as long as to the 2nd cent. A. D.

Last comes the question, who is Amida?

Among hundreds of the epithets, with which the author of the Lalita-vistara (ed. Lefmann, pp. 423-436) adores Buddha, the title Amida does not once occur. One of these epithets is *apamanananta-rasmir*, *i.e.*, The One whose rays are immeasurable and infinite. The pasage is a very important one, since these epithets supplied speculation with the materials for the belief in the existence of as many manifestations of Buddha as there are epithets. This kind of speculation is developed in the Lotus, and there we meet with the epithet Amida. There the name, probably for the first time, signifies a personal existence of Buddha in the western land, being one among many in the lands of the ten directions. The idea here expressed, that these Buddhas preach the same truth at the same time in their respective abodes, is new, but the text itself is quite after the pattern of the Arunavati, in the Classified Collection, or of the Mahanidana, in the Long Collection. The Buddhas are said in this latter text to have appeared successively. It is very possible that this succession in time was modified to co-existence in different regions, when we consider that the very words expressing *before* and *after* may mean also the *eastern* and *western*. In an early document (Vinaya Cul. v. 2. 3.) we meet a prophetic belief that the future Buddhas will appear in the *eastern lands* (puratthimesu janapadesu). Parallel with this there may have been growing the belief that past

Buddhas are residing in the western region (pascimayam disi). Here the parallelisms *before* and *eastern* (pura, or pubba) and *after* and *western* (*pascima* or *paccha*) are overturned, but in this change the myth may have acted and caused the western region to be ascribed to the Buddhas who are past and gone. I shall not enter here into a minute discussion of the textual questions. It will be sufficient to conclude from these materials, that the idea of a Buddha, a redeemer, residing in a western land of bliss, had its source in older texts.

But we must not overlook another side of the question, *i.e.*, how there came into existence the idea that the Buddha's *primal vows* (purva-pranidhana) are the mysterious force which redeems us. I am inclined to think that the vows expressed by Gotama, which are described in the introduction to the Jataka, are of the same type, and that the conception itself was being fostered long since among Buddhists.

Summing up these considerations, I might say that most of the Mahāyāna texts date from some two or three centuries before Christ. It seems to me rather difficult to trace the origin of the idea, not of Amida, but of the Trinity also, to Christian influence. But it is quite another question whether the Amida-Buddhism in China was influenced by the Nestorian missionaries or not. We have the present translation of the Sukhavati-vyuha, dating from the middle of the third century A.D.; but the first and chief propounder of the faith, Donran, flourished in the sixth century, and Jendo, on whose authority Japanese Amida-Buddhists founded their faith, lived in the seventh century. But here I must stop, because it lies outside of my textual researches.

Some points of Professor Lloyd's remarks, published in the *Japan Mail*, must be touched upon last.

(1) The first mention of Amida's name is older than Nagarjuna. Besides the Lotus and other scriptures we have its mention and that of the faith founded on Amida's personality, in a book ascribed to Asvaghosha (see Suzuki's translation, The Awakening of Faith, p. 145).

(2) Nagarjuna's date must be later than the first century A. D. I think it is the second century.

(3) The council under Kanishka finished the compilation of a great commentary on the Abhidharma. It had nothing to do with the Mahāyāna texts. At least it is never expressly said so. If the present Mahāyāna texts had been compiled under King Kanishka or in the Scythian countries, the home of classical Sanskrit, they must have been written in a more regular Sanskrit.

Prof. Lloyd, as Librarian of the Society, then read the following report on "Some Recent Additions to our Library":—

1. Mr. John Grant, publisher, of Edinburgh, has presented the Library with a copy in 2 vols. of a new and revised Edition of Keene's *History of India*, revised and brought down to comparatively recent times. The book has been written for students, and is therefore very concise, but each section has a good list appended of authors to be consulted for the particular topic. For Japanese students, or persons studying India, as most of us would do, from a Japanese standpoint, certain sections seem to require a more detailed treatment, and I should like to suggest that a very valuable paper for our Society, if any of our members saw their way to undertaking it, would be to trace the points of contact, if any, in the ancient history of the two countries. Japanese Buddhism is of course derived from India, but there are other points as well, say the legend which identifies Genghis Khan with Yoshitsune, which might be developed with interest and profit.

2. A copy of the 2nd German edition of *Nippon* by Fr. von Siebold has been placed on our shelves.

3. We have received from Vienna, with a request for review and criticism, an extract from the *Transactions* of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences, containing an edition, with Text in Pali and Romaji, Introduction and Notes, of an old Burmese Book *Rajawan* or the *History of the Kings*. It describes the foundation of the ancient Burmese, or perhaps better Peguan, Kingdom in the beginning of the Christian era, and throws a great deal of light on the chronology of Buddhism. Here again I take leave to suggest that some of our members, who know German and Pali, would be doing good work by giving us a summary of the main facts in some accessible form.

4. From Batavia we get as Vol. XLIX., parts 1 and 2, of the *Transactions* of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, an edition with romanized Text and Dutch Translation and notes of a "Chivalrous Romance" from the island of Sunda. The Romance, which dates from the 15th century of our era, and which like European mediaeval romances, tells of the adventures of a brave knight and his combats with giants, dragons and other monsters, together with the deliverance of helpless beauties from all manner of dangers. Incidentally the book also throws light on the conflict which took place in the Malay Archipelago, when Mohammedanism pushed into the islands and drove out the Hindoo and Buddhist beliefs which had preceded them. The Romance was written in a loose unrhymed verse, and was intended like the Homeric ballads to be recited with musical accompaniments. Illustrations of the musical instruments used for these purposes are given. They are, as far as I could make out, our old friends the *koto* and *samisen*, and those who hold to a Malay descent for a part at least of the Japanese people may perhaps find some confirmation of their theory.

NOTES ON THE JAPANESE DRAMA

Asiatic Society of Japan
General Meeting

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Rooms, Ginza, Tokyo, on May 22, 1907 Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced the election of four new members: Rev. E. W. Thwing, Honolulu; Prof. H. P. Beach, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Rev. Geo. B. Smyth, D.D., Berkeley, Cal.; and Rev. F. W. Heckelman, Yokohama. Prof. Arthur Lloyd then delivered a lecture, entitled "Notes on the Japanese Drama".

NOTES ON THE JAPANESE DRAMA.

BY PROF. A. LLOYD.

"NO" AND "KYOGEN."

Dr. Florenz (*Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur* vol. ii. p. 371) speaks of the Japanese Drama as being the most notable production of the Muromachi age. It is true that we have, from the earliest times, traces of the *Matsuri*, or Japanese Festival, with its *Norito* Liturgies, and its mimic *Kagura* dances, but it is not until the year A.D. 671 that the Nihongi speaks definitely of a *Tamai* or "rice-field dance" as having been given in that year. During the succeeding centuries, the *Tamai* is often mentioned as the sacred dance of the rice harvest: by the beginning of the eleventh century it had become a well-established popular pantomime, with a Chinese name—*dengaku*—which is but a translation of its original title; and in 1096, Oe Masafusa, in his Rakuyo Dengakki, speaks of the celebration of these *dengaku* festivals in terms which remind us very vividly of the Grecian Bacchus-festivals which also lay at the root of the Athenian drama. The most flourishing era of the *dengaku*-pantomimes is given as the middle of the 13th century. They were acted by persons who, from their name of *dengaku-boshi* and their shaven crowns, seem to have belonged to the clergy, like the lay-singers in an English Cathedral, and they seem in process of time to have enlarged their scope so that by the end of the Kamakura era they included even historical subjects, in which case they were called *Dengaku no No*, or "*Dengaku Works of Art.*"

In the middle of the ninth century we get a further expansion—the *sarugaku*, or Chinese dance (sangaku), a comic drama added to *Dengaku*-pantomime, which was always more or less solemn and decorous. Its object was to move

the audience to laughter by comic acting and posturing (whence comes the popular but false etymology of *sarugaku* as the monkey dance), and when dialogues were added after Chinese patterns to the lyrical dramas of the *dengaku*, the new *genre* of stage-writing was popularly styled *sarugaku no no*, or the high-art piece of Chinese art. What has here been stated may be easily deduced from the following considerations. The golden age of the Chinese drama was the period of the Mongolian dominion (A.D. 1206-1368), the commencement of the Japanese lyric drama dates from about the middle of the 13th century. The interval between 1206 and 1250 was a period of great and frequent intercourse between China and Japan: many travellers, especially monks, visited the Celestial Empire for purposes of study, and it was in Nara, the favourite residence of monks, that from 1250 to 1300 we get the *Sarugaku No* plays.

These dramas retained the essentially lyric character of the earlier *dengaku*, the lyric element being increased by additions from the lyric portions of *Monogatari*, the working up of Japanese and Chinese uta and shi, various dances, such as *kusemai* and *shirabyoshi*, and monologues and dialogues from the already mentioned *monogatari* or histories of the heroes.

Hence, the "*no* may be looked upon as an *opera* of primitive character in which the sung portions of the libretto are the principal elements, the spoken portions being looked upon as of secondary importance." This may be seen in the fact that the written text of these dramas is called in Japanese "*utai*," in Sinico-chinese, *Yokyoku*,—"piece for singing."

The *Yokyoku* are always of a serious character and rather epic than dramatic. The personages are generally passive rather than active, the sport of external influence, over which they have no control, rather than themselves the makers of their own destinies. There are therefore but few dramatic situations, and in places where we should expect action we get, instead, lyric odes on the situation. The pieces are very

short: mostly one act only, without divisions into scenes. In some plays we have a quasi division into acts, the first act showing the hero in an assumed, the second, in his proper and natural character. There are also one or two more lively pieces such as Funa-Benkei which have a very vigorous swing in them. But these are the exceptions.

HISTORY OF THE "NO."

It is not accurately known at what precise date the *no* drama shook itself free from its original connection with the Kagura dances of the Shinto temples. There is a tradition (which is not however universally accepted) that the Emperor Gosaga (A.D. 1243—1246) found in the Imperial Library a collection of sixteen dramas dating from the reign of the Emperor Murakami (A.D. 947-967) and gave them to the family of Emai (圓滿井) who were at that time the guardians of the Kasuga shrine at Nara in Yamato.

Doubts have been thrown on the tradition, but the fact remains that the *no* dramas, as we now have them, were originally based on more primitive forms known as *kuse*, and that these primitive elements may still be recognized embedded in the *no*. The development of the *kuse* (曲) into the *no* seems to have taken during the reign of Yoshimitsu, the third of the Ashikaga Shoguns (A. D. 1368-1394), and to have been due to the simultaneous and apparently independent efforts of several families of play-wrights and musicians, among whom may be reckoned the Emai mentioned above, and the family of Yusaki, afterwards known as Kwanse (觀世) and to three members of it in particular, Kwanami, Seami, and Onami. Throughout the Ashikaga and Tokugawa Shogunates, the Kwanse family took the lead as expounders of the *no* drama. There were also other families, such as the Komparu (金春), Hosho (實生), and Kongo (金剛), but it is noticeable that all these descend from the religious musicians of the Kasuga shrine at Nara.

The three dates which I have given in the preceding

paragraphs, those of Murakami, Gosaga, and Yoshimitsu, are in themselves suggestive. They coincide with the periods immediately succeeding the religious activities of Kobo Daishi, Honen, Shinran, and Nichiren, the palmy days of Buddhist influence (as may indeed be seen in the pre-eminently Buddhist mould in which they have been cast), and it would be an interesting subject for enquiry, though not within the scope of this paper, how much, if any, connection may be traced between the Indian drama and the primitive *kuse* elements of the Japanese *no*.

Born in an Imperial Library, nurtured by musicians connected with the more than aristocratic shrine of Kasuga, the *no* has always remained the special privilege of the higher and military classes. Taiko Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu were not only constant spectators but frequent actors of *no* dramas. Many a daimyo had his local *no* stage, for the solemn performance of these quasi religious plays, and *no* actors were held in honor. But the *no* was practically the monopoly of the higher classes, and there was only one day in the year on which the common people were allowed to view it.

THE NO-KYOGEN STAGE.

The stage on which these two classes of drama are played is a platform about six yards square, with three of its sides open, and with no decorations about it except an old pine-tree painted on the wood-panelled wall which occupies the fourth side of the square. Behind this wall there is a small "green-room" or "vestry" for the use of the actors and musicians. "Green-room" and "vestry" are both permissible terms in this case, for the *no-kyogen* are both derived from the ancient *kagura* dances of the Shinto rite and the *no* stage is merely a replica of the *kagura* stage which may be seen connected with almost every Shinto shrine of any importance. The actors and orchestra have their exits and entrances on the right side of the stage, the chorus on the left.

THE NO-ACTORS.

The following are the designations of the principal actors employed in the rendering of a *no* drama.

1. The *shite* (シテ) or protagonist.
2. The *waki* (脇) or deuteragonist.

Both of these actors have their proper place assigned to them on the stage. It would seem that the original *no* did not contemplate the employment of more than two grown actors. This may be seen from the fact that the tritagonist and tetragonist are not called by any special name, but are simply known as,

3. *Shite-tsure* (シテヅレ) or assistant to the chief actor,
4. *Waki-tsure* (脇連), or assistant to the ~~chief~~ actor.

This does not however seem to have referred to any but grown up actors. There is also found, in *no* dramas,

5. the *kokata* (小方) or child actor, often used to play the part of emperors or noblemen, an arrangement which seems to take us back to the days of puppet-emperors, puppet-shoguns, puppet-regents, and the extremely vigorous military classes of the early middle ages of Japanese history.

THE CHORUS.

The *no* chorus generally consists of eight singers whose duty it is to assist the actors by singing. Their functions are very much the same: indeed, the Chorus plays a very important part in the *no* drama which aims at producing its effects through the ear rather than through the eye.

THE ORCHESTRA.

The Orchestra is known as *hayashikata* (囃方). It consists of four instruments, the fourth of which is, however, sometimes omitted. These are:

1. A flute (*fue*), the flute-player being the conductor and director of all the musicians and singers.
2. A small *tsudzumi* (鼓).
3. A large *tsudzumi*.

4. A drum (sometimes omitted).

These instruments serve to guide and regulate the movements of the actors. The *tsudzumi* players add effect to their music by giving vent to shrill cries at important crises in the drama.

PRINCIPAL "NO" DRAMAS.

It is strange, as showing the popular origin of the *no* dramas, that although there are extant over 200 pieces, all of which are well known and familiar to the ordinary *no* audiences, in no single case has the original author's name been preserved, and this even though in most cases the musical composers' names have survived. The *no* dramas may perhaps be compared in this respect with the miracle plays and mysteries of mediæval Europe. They were based on popular stories. which were felt to be common property; each succeeding generation of actors felt itself at liberty, within certain limits, to add, expand, or modify, until, when at last a generally satisfactory version had been finally constructed, it was no longer possible to say by whom the piece had been originally composed.

The *no* dramas may be looked upon as epic poems dramatized. Some writers have even maintained that they were originally meant for reading but not for acting, and we have already seen that the effect of the play is designed more for the ear than the eye. The themes are very largely historical, but they are all impregnated with the pessimistic thoughts of the religious atmosphere of the day in which they were produced: and they are evidently intended to appeal to an educated audience. The language used is classical, and the plays are full of learned allusions and quotations from Confucian, Buddhist, and Chinese classics. The thoughts are always elevated and noble, according to the standard of the times, and there are many native critics who will, without any hesitation, place the *no* dramas as the highest productions of Japanese literary art.

A "NO" PERFORMANCE.

When a *no* performance take place, five or six of these dramas are selected for representation, the intervals between the pieces being filled with selected *kyogen* plays, more or less appropriate to the themes of the *no* dramas between which they are placed. A *no* play is sung and not spoken, and in this point the *no* has been compared with the Western opera. The comparison however is somewhat fanciful. The Japanese actors monotones rather than sings, and his gestures in dancing are never so active and lively as they are in our operas. Gracefulness is the fundamental principle to which everything must be sacrificed, and there are no realistic scenes such as make us shudder in the popular *shibai* dramas· There are, for instance, no prolonged death agonies; an actor is supposed to be killed by the simple wave of his antagonist's sword, and then to walk slowly and sadly off the stage. There is no scenery, nothing but the painted pine-tree on the solitary wall at the back of the stage, and as few stage-accessories as possible. This simplicity of scenic apparatus, is in accordance with all the traditions of true Japanese art and is intended to bring out to the full the powers of the actors who have nothing but their own skill to rely upon.

The *no* resembles the ancient Greek drama in the use of masks by the actors. It may perhaps be said to have a closer affinity with the *masques* of the European renaissance. Certainly the later developments synchronized with the appearance of the European masques, and Milton's Comus might be classed as a *no* play, or perhaps as a *kyogen*.

A feature common to both *masques* and *no* is the employment of child-actors. In the Japanese *no*, the *kokata* were used to represent Sovereigns and noblemen, (never warriors) and generally any mild or benevolent characters. In sorrowful scenes, such as the parting of husband and wife, child actors were also frequently employed with the idea of heightening the pathos.

KYOGEN.

As interludes between the *No-yukyoku*, which are at times wearisomely pompous, we get the *Kyogen*, or comic pieces, which serve the same purpose as that of the satiric drama, which came at the end of a complete Greek trilogy. *No* and *Kyogen* are acted on the same stage, but never by the same actors; in the latter, the actors are unmasked, and there is no musical accompaniment to the dances which are there given. The dances themselves are the same, but the style of execution is different. In the *no*, the dances are solemn and ceremoniously performed; in the *kyogen*, the gods have, as it were, unbent, and are refreshing themselves by having a good time. The *no* relates the misfortunes of heroes, the early deaths of heroines, the *kyogen* represents the contrasts of the gay and grave which we find so often in human life. This contrast may possibly have had a historical basis, for, as Dr. Florenz says, there was in the old Kagura dances, an elevated *Togaku*, or Chinese dance, by the side of a humorous and sometimes vulgar *Komagaku*, or Korean dance; but it is more probable that the *kyogen* came into existence simply for the purpose of relieving the strain of too much solemnity and pomp. It is very seldom that a *kyogen* piece is acted by itself. Monsieur Benazet (*Le Théatre au Japon*, published by the Musée Guimet) mentions the *Tokaido Hizakurige* and *Hassamba* as rare instances. In the *ai no kyogen* there is no special drama at all; the actor, who has a special seat assigned to him, merely explains the general meaning of the dance or pantomime. The *kyogen* actors can always be distinguished by their yellow *tabi* whilst the *no* actors wear *tabi* of white.

It is in the *kyogen* that we get the true pictures of the social and national life of the Ashikaga period. It was a period of high ideals, with a few great men towering above the rest, and bearing witness to the priestly holiness and knightly bravery of an age gone by. These are brought be-

fore us in the *no*. But it was also a period of mediocre performances: the country swarmed with ignoble and contemptible lords and knights who disgraced their swords, and priests who disgraced their religion. Mingled with these were dreamy scholars who were incapable of managing their money-matters, and innocent country people who were the sport of every designing rascal. In the 250 *kyogen* pieces which remain to us we have all these personages held up to kindly ridicule and to derision from which all the sting seems to have been taken.

Dr. Florenz classifies the *kyogen* according to their subject matter, as follows:—

(*a*) Those ridiculing the *nobles*:—*Oni-arasoi*, *Suminuri*, *Hagikaimyo*, etc.

(*b*) Ridiculing the *clergy*: *Nio*, etc.

(*c*) Ridiculing the *blind*, *maimed*, etc.—*Kawakami Jizo*, *Sanninkawata*, etc.

(*d*) Thief-stories:—*Renga nusubito*, *Cha-tsubo*, etc.

(*e*) Conjugal difficulties: *Niwatori-muko*, *Kanaoka*, etc.

"SHIBAI."

Like the *No* and *Kyogen*, the *Shibai*, or popular drama, is said to be derived from the mimic rites of the *Sarugaku* (猿樂) or kagura (神カグラ), the origin of which goes back to the mythological era, to the dance which *Uzumi no mikoto* is said to have performed in front of the cave in which the incensed sun-goddess Amaterasu had taken refuge.

Historically speaking, it is of much more recent date. We have seen that the common people had no part or lot in the refined and scholarly representations of the *no* and *kyogen*. The *shibai* were started to provide the populace with dramatic entertainments, and the date assigned as the birth-year of these plays is A.D. 1603. The originator of the *shibai* was a woman of the Keicho era, Okuni by name, whose husband, an ex-*samurai*, helped her to modify the *kyogen* to suit popular wants. The *shibai* immediately be-

came popular. Actors of either sex, were employed freely, the women actors being mostly if not entirely drawn from the prostitute class; and the moral effect of the Okuni Kabuki (or Okuni Theatre), as it was called, was so bad that in 1629 the reigning Shogun Iyemitsu issued a decree by which the employment of women actors was stringently forbidden. Hence the period from 1603-1629, *i.e.* from the first beginning of the *shibai* to the prohibition of female actors is sometimes known in Japanese literary history as the age of the "Woman's Plays."

POSSIBLE CONNECTION OF "SHIBAI" WITH EUROPEAN DRAMA.

If we remember the date at which the *shibai* plays were commenced, we shall see that it is not altogether inconceivable that there may have been some sort of connection between them and the Spanish secular drama which was then in its most flourishing period. In 1603 the Spaniards had been fifty years in Japan, and they were not all priests and missionaries. Sailors and merchants came, too, many of whom would associate with Japanese, and some probably with Japanese of the class to which Okuni and her husband, the ex-*samurai*, seem to have belonged. Such men would naturally be fond of theatrical representations, some of them would possibly possess copies of some of Lope de Vega's comedies, and thus may have come to Japan the seed from which grew the *kabuki* theatre.

This is a pure conjecture, but if a true one it would throw some light on the proscription of the *Kabuki* plays and players by the Shogunate Government. There were other licentious practices in Japan in the seventeenth century which were not interfered with. Why should the *Okuni kabuki* have been thus singled out? The proscription would become intelligible and consistent if there was even a shadow of ground for suspicion that the *shibai* and the Spaniard were even remotely connected.

THE REFORMS OF GENROKU.

When the women-actors were prohibited in 1629, the theatrical managements met the difficulty by providing boys to take the female parts. Hence the second period is sometimes the "Period of the Young Lads." During the whole of this period the plays were more popular than ever, larger theatres were built, more money was spent on staging, scenery, and costumes, and the people showed their appreciation of what was being done for them by crowding the houses to see the popular pieces. But the morality of the country suffered by the change, the boy actors were worse even than the women, and the Government was obliged to issue more stringent edicts on the employment and training of the boys in theatres, until at last, in 1652, a number of the theatres in Yedo were forced to close their doors.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, *i.e.*, roughly speaking, from the year 1701 A.D. we come to the period of the Japanese Renaissance, a revival which naturally was not without its influence on the drama. The stringent regulations which the Government had felt obliged to issue half a century before had not been without their influence on the theatres which remained after 1652, or which had been opened since that time. Much was effected in the way of theatrical reform. All the old pieces that were practically nothing but exhibitions of dancing and posturing (often of a doubtful character) were swept away, and proper plays based on definite plots, in the modern sense of the term, were substituted for them, the actors themselves being often, as in Shakespeare's time, their own play-writers. Better musical instruments, notably the *samisen*, introduced in 1678, were brought in, and though a Japanese orchestra still leaves much to be desired, yet in this respect, a *shibai* is unquestionably far ahead of the flute, *tsuzumi*, and drum of the *no* stage.

But the prohibition of female actors was the almost direct cause of the establishment of another form of dramatic

art which gained great popularity during the early years of the eighteenth century and forced the professors of the more legitimate drama to look to their laurels. I refer to the *ningyo shibai*, or "Marionette theatre," which came into great vogue during the Genroku era (A. D. 1688-1703) and which retained its popularity for many a long year. In the *ningyo shibai* the acting is done by means of dolls cleverly manipulated, whilst the speaking takes the form of a *jōruri* or dialogue which is read with musical intonations to an accompaniment of *samisen*. The marionettes were, for a while, most popular. Eminent writers, such as Chikamatsu and Takeda, did not deem it beneath their dignity to write *jōruri* to be recited at such performances, and the *kabuki* or regular actors found that they had much to learn in posturing, etc., from their inanimate rivals. The *kabuki* theatre borrowed from the *jōruri* of the doll plays many of its most popular pieces, distinguished into *jidai mono* or historical plays and *sewa mono* or realistic representations of actual or contemporary life. It is in this period that we get such noted actors as Mizuki Tatsunosuke, Sawamura Sojuro, and Ichikawa Danjuro, the first. After the Genroku age, the *kabuki* theatre went to sleep along with the rest of Japan. Nothing of dramatic importance occurred until 1847 when another Ichikawa (Kodanjo) revolutionized the *sewa mono* by bringing them up to date.

We must remember that the *shibai* was an entertainment specially provided for the lowest classes of Japanese society, who were excluded from the aristocratic *no* and *kyogen*, and for whose moral and social elevation there were few that cared in the dead period of the Shogunate. The *shibai* had but a poor reputation: no *samurai* or respectable person would have degraded himself by attendance at a performance, and the actors themselves were looked upon as the dregs of society. They were (perhaps deservedly) styled "riverside beggars" and compelled to live, like the *eta*, in ghettos or districts of their own, being shunned by all persons of position

or repute. It was folly to expect anything at all noble or inspiring from persons compelled to live in such surroundings, and it speaks volumes for the despised play-actors and playwrights that they did not sink lower.

We have already seen that in 1847 efforts were made to bring the *kabuki* theatre to a higher level of efficiency and dignity. The Meiji Revolution brought about a most welcome change. Actors gained the privilege of full citizenship at that time: in 1876 the Shintomiza Theatre in Tokyo was built, the opening representations being attended by several of the Ministers of Foreign Powers, who thereby gave a great impetus to the reformation of the Japanese stage. Ten years later, in 1886, Ichikawa Danjuro, the great actor of modern days, was honored by His Majesty with a command to play in his presence. A society was formed for the Improvement of the Stage which has however dissolved without having accomplished very much. The late Ichikawa Danjuro together with the well-known writer Fukuchi Genichi worked very hard during the eighties to revive a genuine historical drama; but their efforts can hardly be said to have been successful, and since their death there has been very little accomplished in the way of Living Historical Drama.

What is known as the Soshi Shibai (ソウシ芝居), or Student's Drama, dates from 1884. Its originator was a young man of the name of Sudo Sadanori, who in that year brought out in Osaka a play written by himself and entitled the "Brave Student." The movement is, however, far more closely connected with the name of Kawakami Otojiro who has pushed it with considerable success. Indeed, the success which has attended Kawakami's efforts may well be compared with that which followed the first crude tentatives made by Okuni and her husband in the early years of the seventeenth centurry. There are at present over three thousand actors of the Soshi School, and it seems that whilst Kawakami's methods will undoubtedly undergo very great

modification before anything approaching finality can be reached, yet it is this school of dramatists that holds in its hands the future of the Japanese Stage.

DAZAI ON FOOD AND WEALTH

Asiatic Society of Japan
General Meetings

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, Methodist Publishing House, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, June 26, at 4 p.m. The Vice-President for Tokyo, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, occupied the Chair. The Recording Secretary announced a gift from Messrs. John Hyde, J. W. Woodward and John B. Sleman, Jr., of Washington, D.C., of 30 *yen* for the purchase of books, etc., relating to the history of Buddhism. He also announced that Prof. Arthur Lloyd had been elected the Society's representative at the Orientalists' Congress to be held in Copenhagen in August, 1908. He further reported that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: S. W. Woodward and John B. Sleman, Jr., of Washington, D.C.; E. A. Filene, of Boston, Mass.; and Prof. Geo. Haley, of 30 Tsukiji, Tokyo. Mr. R. J. Kirby, of Tokyo, then read a portion of his paper, which is a translation of "Dazai on Food and Wealth." After the Chairman had thanked Mr. Kirby for his valuable paper, the Society adjourned.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1, 4 chome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, October 16th, at 4 p.m. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President for Tokyo, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, took the chair. The minutes of the last meeting having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary reported that the following persons had been elected as members of the Society:—C. V. Sale, Esq., Yokohama; Mrs. D. R. Noyes, St. Paul, Minn.; H. E. Coleman, Esq., Tokyo. Mr. R. J. Kirby then read selections from his paper on "Dazai on Food and Wealth." These selections were the most interesting part of the paper and presented much valuable information about the economical problems, as well as popular superstitions of that period. The Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Kirby for his entertaining paper.

FOOD AND WEALTH.

AN ESSAY BY DAZAI JUN

TRANSLATED BY

R. J. KIRBY, ESQ.

Food and Wealth are called the means of governing life, for all ranks, from the Emperor down to the lowest of the people. In the Kyohan of the Shosho an account is given of how Taiu governed the earth. In it are mentioned the eight governments, these being the eight most important articles needed for governing a country. The first of these eight is food and the second wealth. As these two are the most important of the eight, the whole are called food and wealth. Kanmoken in the Kansho gives an account of the government of life in the Kan Dynasty, and argues about its profits and losses and the good and the evil of this government, and calls it an essay on food and wealth. Food is what men eat, and refers to the rice cereals. Wealth is material wealth and means treasure. There are many kinds of things comprising wealth, such as linen and cotton for covering the body to protect it from cold. Tea, salt, wine, sauce, flesh of fishes and vegetables are aids to the five cereals in nourishing the body. Brushwood, firewood, oil, charcoal and such like are things in ordinary use. Then in addition there are all kinds of implements in general use in the houses of men, and such things as bamboo, wood, stone, sand and so forth, which are used for all kinds of purposes, assisting life; therefore these things are called material wealth. Then there is currency called money. There are three kinds of money: gold, silver and copper. Gold money is of such a nature as the gold *O* and *Ko*-ban of to-day; silver money consists of the silver coins in use at the present time. Copper money is the

cash of to-day. Anciently money (*sen* 錢) was written 泉 (a spring). Money circulates over the earth to meet the needs of man, just as water springs out of the earth and flows here and there. Therefore money was called sen (spring). Later on the word *sen* (money) came into use. Gold coins or silver coins are money. In the foreign country (China) in very ancient times leather currency, made from the skins of animals, was used as money; but later this was changed for gold and copper. Silver subsequently came into use. These three kinds of currency are used instead of things, and are therefore called wealth.

The most severe forms of privation, to which man is subject, are the two things, hunger and cold. The cure for hunger is food, and the preventative against cold is clothing. Food consists of the five cereals. The five cereals grow from the ground and pass through the hands of the farmer. Clothing is linen and silk. The planting of mulberries and hemp is the business of farming families. The picking of mulberries, the breeding of silkworms, the making of silk, the spinning of hemp and the weaving of linen are the work of women. As the five cereals, mulberries, and hemp grow from the ground, they can be produced anywhere. And although if food and clothing are provided they are enough to secure escape from hunger and cold, so that nothing else is needed; still food and clothing alone will not satisfy. As already mentioned above, there are several things really necessary. Again, in producing clothing and food certain kinds of implements are required. Also, as the soil of the earth is not everywhere the same, some things can be grown in certain soils and some cannot. Therefore the sages of old in teaching agriculture also taught barter; so that that which was not in hand could be obtained by exchanging for it that which was. Barter is for this person to exchange things with that person. If things one has are exchanged for those which one has not, they are made to circulate between this person and that, and so all demands are met. In the

Shuyeki occurs the expression, "In heaven and earth the great virtue is equally produced." It means that in heaven and on earth the producing of all things is a virtue. After a thing is produced there is a way for it to be nourished. Provided the laws of heaven and earth are not transgressed, nothing with life dies because of lack of nourishment. The teachings of the sages are therefore the teachings of heaven and earth. If the teachings of the sages are followed and the way of governing life is observed, not only will the sorrows of hunger and cold not exist, but there will be no shortage of the daily necessities, and life will be passed easily and quietly. This is the great virtue of heaven and earth. In the government of Gyo and Shun this is what is called Usefulness and Full Life (利用厚生). The governing of life is what man ought to think carefully about, but the minds of men differ. Some work at life government, and others do not. Again, as regards the bodily actions of masters and their good and bad government, the habits of the lower classes change in accordance with such actions and government; therefore on the advent of a selfish person the equal distribution of rice cereals and wealth ceases, and the sorrows of the people come into existence and difficulties for the State arise. People, whether high or low, cannot exist even for a day without food and clothing. The rules of etiquette ought to be observed, but it is usual for men when pressed by hunger and cold to forget these rules. Kanchu says, "When the granaries are full, then men understand the rules of etiquette; when clothing is plentiful, glory and shame are understood." By this he means that men understand the rules of etiquette when there is no scarcity of clothing and food and when the hardships of hunger and cold do not exist. Mencius says, "To be without a regular income is to be without a constant purpose." A regular income means the regular income of the gentleman, agriculturist, artisan or merchant. To have a constant purpose is to be of steadfast heart and to keep the way and not

change. "To be without a regular income is to be without a constant purpose" means that one has no occupation yielding a regular income, and that there is pressure upon him night and day, and that the constant purpose is lost in the privations of hunger and cold. Thus it happens that all kinds of schemes are thought of simply to maintain life if only for a single day. To deceive and do that which is wrong and to change that heart which would never change under an ordinary mode of life, is equivalent to not having a constant purpose. The common people are just as is written above, and though Mencius says that gentlemen, even though they may have no regular income, will not lose their constant purpose, gentlemen without a regular income will generally lose their constant purpose and be guilty of dishonour. The proverb of the poor, which says, "Poverty is a thief", is quite true. When Kanchu governed the province of Sei, as Prime Minister of Kango, he erected four holdfasts (四維). The four holdfasts are the four words: Etiquette (*Rei*), Righteousness (*Gi*), Modesty (*Ren*) and Shame (*Chi*). Etiquette is established laws; righteousness is fidelity; modesty is modest preciseness [meaning a corner (*kado*). A gentleman (*shi*) is a gentle man. To make the corners sharp means modesty]; shame is to put to shame or to dishonor (*haji*). These are called the four holdfasts, because they are like the ropes used for fastening a ship. The governing of the State by the fastening of the four holdfasts, etiquette, righteousness, modesty and shame, is as the fastening of a ship to four places with four lines of rope. If one rope of the holdfasts is cut, the ship will move a litttle, if two or three are cut, she will move more, and if all are cut, she will drift whither no one can know. It is just the same with the State. There are numerous examples from ancient times showing that if the four holdfasts are cut, the State will move forward in a troublesome way. In order to guard these laws, etiquette, modesty and shame, the people must not be short of clothing and food. From the upper to the lower classes all must work

at some productive business, so that there will be enough for all and no deficiency. Those who have not some settled productive work are worried morning and night, in their passage through this world, to find the means to enable them to live. If the gentlemen and lords, and all the more if the princes of provinces, are pressed for lack of sufficient clothing and food, and so bring suffering upon their wives and children and households, this is being without modesty and shame. Therefore Kanchiu in governing the country of Sei made the enrichment of the country his fundamental concern. If a country is rich, it is easy enough to make the army strong. Therefore this is called "The way of the Rich Country and Strong Army." Calling the production of a rich country and strong army merely the *art* of the governing classes is the absurd ("unjust") saying of the rotten Confucians of later times. From the time of Gyo and Shun until the time of the teachings of Confucius the earth was always governed by the sages through having the country rich and the army strong. In speaking of a rich country and strong army, we mean that a rich country is the foundation of a strong army. Therefore the people who govern a State take great pains regarding the way of food and wealth and the nourishment of the subjects. They extend the four holdfasts and consider carefully so as not to have any scarcity for the country and the army. In the foregoing food and wealth have been jointly considered.

In governing the world in ancient times the honouring of the cereals and the dishonouring of wealth constituted good government. This was the way of the First Kings. Cereals are the food of the people. Food is the heaven of the people. It is a thing which cannot be done without for a single day. Wealth is gold and silver money. Though all people think that gold and silver are the chief treasure, when starving if gold and silver are eaten the stomach will not be filled; whereas to sup one bowl of gruel will save one from death. When one is cold, should gold and silver be heaped

up like a mountain and one be inside, it would not be warm there; but by wearing one linen coat disease may be warded off. This shows that gold and silver are not the things to save a man from hunger and cold. But foolish people reason that treasure is better than rice, thinking that if they have gold and silver they can easily procure rice, as under a peaceful government the ways of exchange and of buying and selling reach everywhere; and, further, that if gold and silver are possessed rice and linen and silk can be procured at once; also, that rice is bulky and heavy, and is tiresome to carry about, whereas gold and silver can be put in the pocket and hung on the loins, and in going 100 or 1000 *li* a handful of it will satisfy many wants. Therefore the foolish man of the world thinks there is no better treasure than this. But in times of rebellion, or in bad years of famine and when rice is scarce, how about it then when it is difficult to procure rice with gold and silver? This shows clearly the truth that the virtue of gold and silver does not reach so far as that of rice. The ancients knew this, and therefore such a man as Chosaku, of the Kan Dynasty, memoralized the Emperor Bun as to the way of causing the cereals to be honoured and wealth dishonoured. In Japan in ancient times the cereals were honoured, and gold and silver were not, as they are now. In these times the people of the earth assemble in the Eastern Capital, and since from the various daimyo and honourable ones down to the ordinary people they all live as travellers, and it has become the fashion to do everything with gold and silver; and since in distant provinces it is the same: therefore it is that rice is dishonoured and gold and silver honoured much more than in ancient times. The people of this age of long peace do not know what it means to call food "heaven".

If gentlemen, agriculturists, artisans and business men are called the four kinds of people, then gentlemen too are of the people. But the agriculturists grow the five cereals, artisans make implements, and business men circulate that which

in hand for that which is not. These three live by their business, but gentlemen are used by the State and live by the salaries received from their lords. Thus gentlemen ought to be excepted, and the four kinds of people should be agriculturists, artisans, business men and shop-keepers. Business men travel and sell their goods; shop-keepers remain in their houses and sell them: all being business. In the work of the people there are both the base and the top, agriculture being the base, and artisanship, business and shop-keeping the top. These four kinds of people are the treasure of the State, and if any one of the four is missing, then it cannot really be called a State. For example, should the agricultural people be few, the food and clothing of the State will fall short. The Government of the First Kings made agriculture specially important. Agricultural work is very hard, i.e., tiring, work year by year, with little profit and with no chance to eat good cereals. Therefore the farmers envy the light though evenly paid work of the artisan and business man, and many change from agriculturists to artisans and business men. Even if they do not go to live under the castle walls, but carry on business in the country, their profit is greater than that derived from agricultural work; and thus it becomes the custom to do farming carelessly and to take more pains in buying and selling; and this means causing the State to degenerate. To be exact, if the agricultural people gradually become fewer, rice will become scarce. If artisans and business men increase, than a great many kinds of material wealth will be produced and collected from all parts, and the heart of man will be made proud, and it will come about that gold and silver is made the principal treasure. The future necessities of the State will become gradually scarce, and the beginning of poverty for high and low alike will be the result, and this will be a great calamity to the State. Therefore, in the government of the sages, the registration of the people was justly effected, and the houses of the four classes were often re-arranged, and agriculturists were pro-

hibited from willfully changing to other work. But in this age there is no such prohibition, and the artisans and business men increase daily and the towns become full, and though this is convenient for supplying the needs of men, it makes men wish to change, and all the gold and silver treasure is paid into the warehouses of the shop-keepers. Is not this sad?

To dislike hard work and to like ease is natural to man. The four clases of people all fail to exert themselves, each class at its own legitimate work, and they envy the work of others. To like to be idle and to be addicted to idleness is just the same at present as in ancient times. Mencius, when he said "Slackness is not good," meant, as amongst the four classes, that the agriculturists have the most severe work to do, and that if the government does not supervise them, but leaves them to their own devices, when the hardships of hunger and cold are not present to incite them to effort they will neglect farming and not properly exert themselves at any thing, and extremity and beggary will come upon them before they have time even to swing round on their heels. Therefore the way to govern the people is by a severe and not by an easy government. If it is too easy, it will be to the hurt of the people. So the government should repeatedly supervise the people and examine them, see who truly exert themselves and who are lazy, and then reward or punish as the case may be. In the foreign country (China) there is such a thing as the encouragement of agriculture. The Emperor sends a messenger to the people to encourage agriculture and the exercise of filial and brotherly love in the field. When through filial love younger brothers, who work under the father, mother or elder brother, diligently farm their fields, and reports of such conduct have been presented by, and heard from, the local officials, then rewards are given by the government. In this way the people are kept mostly from thoughts of laziness. By exerting themselves at agriculture they avert poverty. If the people are rich, the State

is rich too. Finally the people are like children and are good or bad according to the nature of the government and the teachings of the government.

The treasure of the Emperor and of Princes is the soil. Mencius said, "Of the three treasures of the Princes the first is the soil." The soil has five names. You can see the term "The five Soils" in the Shurei. The first soil is that of mountains and forests, the second that of rivers and swamps, the third of hills, the fourth of embankments and low-lying tracts, the fifth of plains and moist places. Mountains are high and built up of earth and stones; forests are large areas of bamboo and wood; rivers are places where water flows, and swamps are such places as ponds, marshes, lakes and so forth. The meaning of hills is slightly high ground, mounds and big banks. Banks are the embankments near water, called by the common people walls; low-lying tracts are where the ground is low and level. Plains are high ground spread out all on a level, and moist places are where it is low-lying and damp. These five kinds of soil all have their uses, and will feed men and become treasure for the State. All ground will surely produce things. That which produces the good cereals, wheat and rice, is soil. Even if somewhere these cannot be produced, something else can be of the 100 cereals, which will make food for the people. In addition to food there are many things produced which are of profit to the State. This is the nourishing of men by heaven and earth, but it must not be called heaven and earth. Nothing can be taught without the hand of man. The five soils are all sources of profit for man. Though they are the way of the wealth of the State, this is unknown except by clever people. Unless one is gifted one cannot know this.

In the foreign country (China) in ancient times there was a retainer of the King of Gi, named Giri, who established the way of extracting from the soil the whole of its power. This was practiced in the country of Gi and made that State rich. The meaning of getting the whole of its power from

the soil is to get everything out and leave no profit whatever remaining in it. In later times very few understood this, and even if some did understand, they had no power in that country, to make their knowledge affective. In the country of So, a man named Benwa found in the mountains a precious gem which gave forth light. He took it and gave it to the King of So. The King had it examined by gem experts, who said it was not a gem but a stone. The King, saying that the man had falsely called it a gem to deceive his lord, had one of his legs cut off. The man again presented it to the King, who, as before, not believing him, had the other leg cut off. Benwa, taking the gem, returned to the mountains and wept day and night for three days. Then the King of So took the gem and ordered the gem experts to polish it, when it was found to be truly without a rival and the most beautiful gem on earth. Here we find that, even when a really valuable gem was found and given to the King, it looked before polishing like a mere stone and the finder was given the name of a deceiver and had both his legs cut off. How much less would a person be believed, if he simply said there was a treasure inside the mountain. To get out the full strength of the soil is just like this: people take no heed of anything, unless they can see immediate profit. There is certainly no one who is willing to look forward to a profit to be obtained five or ten years later. There is not likely to be a person who would not be afraid to spend labour and gold and silver in beginning a work, about which he felt that he would never see any profitable result. Should even Giri come to life again in these times, he would find it difficult to carry out his system. Much more is it so when men like Giri are scarce. It is to be feared that within the several seas (i.e. Japan) there is a great part of the soil that has been left unused, or has not had its full strength developed. To get the full strength out of the soil is not only to cultivate the five cereals. Inasmuch as the soil grows all things, to know which things can be grown well in any one of the five kinds, and than

take out this and use it for the people, is a real gain for the State. The people of to-day think that soil not suitable for rice-fields is of no use, and that soil which cannot produce the five cereals is likewise valueless. This is a great error, as soil nourishes the people. Inasmuch as the five cereals support the life of the people, the soil is the most valuable of treasures. That a country must have the five cereals is a matter of course, but on earth there are many different kinds of soil, some of which will not grow the five cereals. If the five cereals cannot be grown, surely some other thing can be. If the soil throughout the earth would certainly grow only the five cereals and nothing else, this would be most inconvenient for man. Therefore the sages of old made the division into the five soils, because the profit to be derived from them was not limited to the five cereals. There is the God of produce, who causes to grow out of the five soils many different kinds of things for the use of men, and he uses the knowledge of men so that the five different soils are separated one from another and many things are grown from them without loss, and as much profit as there is in the ground is all taken from it. Moreover, this can be done without exhausting the soil, which is therefore a warehouse that will never be exhausted. As these inexhaustible warehouses are to be found in all places, we may think of an inexhaustible warehouse at a certain place and take the things it contains out of it. And, in addition to this, there can be exchanges carried on between places, that which is possessed at one point being exchanged for that which is not possessed there. Thus there will be no scarcity of what is needed for use anywhere. Managing soil in this way is called bringing out its strength, or leaving no profit in it. Leaving profit is leaving hidden what belongs to the State. Giri taught the above way. This art is not possessed by the people of to-day, who have only ordinary natural knowledge. Only scholars can attain to this, and it is seldom that such a man as does so can be found among as many as ten million. In late times has occurred the

enrichment of his country by a certain Takoshi, a lord of Prince Tsuwan, who made paper and thereby enriched his province. He can be called a man who brought out the strength of the soil. After him there was Giko of Mito, who, in governing that locality, showed that he also knew how to bring out the strength of the soil. I have not heard of any others than these two.

From ancient times it has always been considered that the opening up of uncultivated lands was an evidence of good government. The meaning of opening up uncultivated lands (草萊 *sorai*) comes from rai (Mugwort), rough ground which is dense with *sorai* being cleared off and made into new rice-fields. To have a great deal of uncultivated ground is to the discredit of the person governing a country. To open up land and make new rice-fields, this is truly good government. But to open up new rice-fields is a very important matter. To bring it about abruptly will mean that old rice-fields will be damaged, and this will involve the people in loss. As regards the interests of the State, sometimes even before there is any profit great losses may occur. But if the Lord is pleased by this kind of thing, and the person having the power of government wishes to get merit through using it, and the lower class persons wish to please the upper, the latter in order to obtain their selfish personal ends will come like a swarm of bees to ask that this thing be done. These kinds of persons never think of the profit or loss to the state, they never ponder over the sorrow and hardship of the people, but think only of the immediate advantage to themselves, and try to secure this, and by so doing get merit through the medium of ideas which they put into the lungs and the stomachs of their superiors. As the superior classes do not understand the affairs of the people, and do not really know about the causes and effects of which the soil is the subject, they are deceived by the sayings of the applicants, and do not think of the harm sure to result later on; and then when it comes, even though they abandon the matter at once, the harm done to

the people cannot be remedied and that received by the State cannot be undone. To bring forward such schemes is what is called establishing profit. From ancient times the State has disliked this. Therefore, although to open up new rice-fields is a congratulatory matter, the ancients, understanding that it was difficult to know whether a thing would be profitable or not, considered this very carefully and did not lightly enter upon such undertakings.

Again, as has already been said, the five soils have each their uses, and although when compared with rice-fields such things as flat moors and wide fields are useless, these can nevertheless be turned to account for the pasture of horses and cattle, and the grass can be cut for the manuring of rice-fields; and also flat moors and wide fields are necessary as places where the lords of men may go a hunting. And in any great State emergency if there are no wide places where several tens of thousands of soldiers can be brought together good rice-fields may have to be trampled over instead. To like to plant the five cereals and change all of the wide flat ground into rice-fields has therefore its inconveniences. This fact needs careful consideration.

Then again rivers and valleys are the boundaries of water. These are one of the five soils. Water has the quality of running, and is a thing which finally goes into the sea; but before it reaches the sea, if there are hollow places, it collects in them and forms ponds and marshes, or, if in great quantities, lakes. This is what is meant by the power of the soil. It is not made by men, but by heaven, and is natural. And though these water-filled swamps cannot grow the five cereals, to call them useless is a great mistake. In rivers there lies the virtue of rivers, and swamps of water have the virtue of swamps. The meaning of the character *taku* (澤) is moisture, and it indicates a moist swamp. A swamp has the virtue of providing moisture for the soil. In the argument regarding the establishment of profit, the character may mean the application for a permit to dry up ponds and swamps and

convert them into new rice-fields. For drying up natural ponds and marshes it is necessary to create new rivers and aqueducts, and so provide a way of escape for the water, and in such places many rice-fields and villages must necessarily be damaged and the people suffer greatly and the State also. Ponds and marshes in the dry season have their water drawn off to nourish rice-fields; whereas in the time of long rains and floods water is collected in them, and then the distribution of the water is necessary for the State. Those who think this useless, and who wish to draw off the water of ponds and marshes and make rice-fields do not understand the use of the five soils. In China, in the So dynasty, when the Minister ŌAnseki had control of the government, as he was very fond of new rice-fields, the members of the lower classes applying for them were very numerous, and they had many kinds of schemes. Amongst these was one for drawing off the water from a certain great lake, 500 *ri* in extent, with a view to making it into new rice-fields. Anseki was pleased and wished to commence the work at once. It was a day upon which he had numerous guests, and he spoke about the matter to the guests saying, "How shall I draw the water from the great lake? What do you each of you think about it?" All the guests present wished to flatter Anseki, and there were some who wished to urge him on to doing the work; but before they any of them spoke a man named Ruikoho said, "Indeed there is nothing easier." And when Anseki inquired how so, Koho replied, "If you wish to draw off the water of the great lake, you must dig another lake of the same size near it, and then the water can be drawn off." Anseki being a scholar on hearing this understood the man at once and laughingly gave up the idea. Anseki ought to have seen this before, but he was deluded by the thought of gain and his mind was darkened. It was right and natural of Koho to say another large lake must be dug. Where a necessary natural lake is dried up, if men do not provide a substitute for it, heaven surely will. But only men who

understand heaven and earth can grasp this fact. From ancient times where water swamps have been filled in and level ground made, or where water has been drawn off and new rice-fields created, the calamity of floods has followed, of which there are many examples in both China and this country. Then again, mountains, rivers, valleys, hills and swamps are in general defences of the state for its strengthening. In building cities and castles the rule is to take advantage of these defences. The Shui says, "The safeguard of the soil is mountains, rivers and hills." King Ko said defences should be established and the country guarded. Therefore, as swamps are the safeguards of the State, they must not be lightly done away with. Then again, if there are trees on mountains, there is sure to be water. If there is water on the mountains, there will be rivers and swamps below the mountains for nourishing the rice-fields thereabouts. If there are no trees on the mountains, there will surely be no water. Water gives life to trees; therefore, as trees grow through reliance on water, after they are grown they contain water, and they have the breath of their mother. So if the trees of the mountains are all cut down, the watery breath of the mountains will be done away with, and the swamps and rivers below the mountains will surely be dried up. If the rivers and swamps are dried up, then there is no way to cultivate the rice-fields. To cut down mountain timber is to use up the strength of the soil with a bad and improvident heart, and so to invite great calamities. Again, to get fish out of the sea is truly an operation which has no limit, and when during the reign of the Emperor Bu, of the Kan dynasty, the fisheries were siezed by the officials, in that year there was no fish; but later, when the people were once more allowed to catch fish, then there was plenty. Again when the sea tax was increased the fish supply ceased; whereas when the sea tax was reduced the fish became again plentiful. Even from the unlimited warehouses of God things must not be taken out wastefully. Therefore to avoid using up the

power of the soil it must be treated with thought based upon knowledge. Officials here (縣官) are the public officials (公儀) of the Shogunate. Sea tax is the yearly tax on sea products.

The tax which is presented by farmers to their Lord is generally of three kinds, namely, *So* (租), *Yo* (庸) and *Cho* (調). This is according to the Chinese (唐) law of *So*. *So* is a tax (租稅). This is now called yearly tax (年貢) by the common people of Japan. *Yo* is the labour of man, *Cho* means *Mitsugi* (tribute) 1/8. That which comes forth from the ground in addition to the rice cereals is merchandise of many kinds, such as salt, wine, tea, lacquer, linen, silk, cotton, paper, charcoal, firewood, oil, wax, the various vegetables, birds, beasts, fishes, turtles, feathers, hair, hides and leather. These are called the products of the soil. Of the products of the soil it is usual to present to the government ten per cent. This is according to an ancient law, which is the same in China as in Japan. In speaking of *So* (tax) we will leave for the moment the laws of China and of old Japan. The rice-field tax (田租) of the present time is usually four tenths. To present to the government four out of every ten *koku* is what is now called by the common people the "four things." Sometimes more and sometimes less than four is taken, according to whether the soil is fat or lean, or the fields are of the best or the worst class on the average. Four is about the present average for the medium. Though it appears high when compared with the ten per cent of the ancient law of wells and rice-fields, it does not hurt the people of the present day. To take little in taxes is generally called humane government on the part of kings. And of course to make taxes light is a good thing. But the people are like children if they have plenty of clothing and food. Such a government is accordingly too easy, for under it the people gradually become lazy without noticing it, and do not work properly at the business of cultivation. After becoming lazy people finally become short of clothing and food, and suffer from famine and

cold. There are people who, being pursued by taxes, fall into crime. Generally, the government which is both severe and lenient is the best. This is the teaching of Confucius. But from ancient to present times there are very many examples of where the people have been subjected to suffering through extortionate taxes, and the State has finally been overthrown. During modern times I have never heard of the people suffering harm through too little taxation. To sum up, therefore, if the upper classes give up their extravagance, provided there is enough to meet the necessities of the State, there will be plenty for them without taking too much from the people. To take largely from the people is extortion. Extortion is cruel government, and cruel government simply means that before you can turn round on the heel trouble will arise for the State. I have latterly seen and heard many examples of this, but I have not time to m ntion them now.

Concerning the law of *Yo* (庸). Under the law of serfage the people were requisitioned for the army, public works, hunting in the field, etc. This law was established long ago. But if people are worked thus during the time needed for cultivation, suffering is caused to them and harm done to the State. Therefore, to leave them free at such times, and use them only when they are at leisure, is according to the humane government of good kings. Confucius says, "In using the people choose the time." In the Reiki there is a quotation from an old law treating of government by kings, which runs as follows: "In using the strength of the people do not exceed three days in a year." Without limiting oneself to three days, however, when absolutely necessary labour might be forced for a longer period without its being unjust. It is only when it is requisitioned frequently that the farmers are sure to suffer. Therefore the lords ought as much as possible to do without it. This is humane government. But in the present times the people are seldom called upon to work as serfs. In the capital, for public works etc., labourers are hired for wages.

And although with a peaceful government there is no fighting required, there is the guard work to be done in Osaka, Kyoto, Suruga, etc. Except for this kind of military work the *daimyo* do not call out the people of their provinces. In Tokyo, as just said, they hire men for wages, by which is meant that they employ them by the day. Now for every kind of work money is paid and hired labour employed, so that the people do not suffer. In fact, it is just the reverse, they profit. This is quite different from the ancient system. In discussing the third question, the law of *Cho* (調), the ancient law, as already shown, was that one-tenth of the whole product of the soil should be given to the government. Should this be exceeded and things be taken unjustly, this would be to oppress the people and would be rightly called cruel government. At present it seldom happens that things are taken from people's houses. They are mostly bought for gold and silver from the hands of merchants, and it might therefore be said that there is now no such thing as the law of Cho.

For collecting the land tax there are now two methods employed. The first is to take *on examination*, and the second, *by settled permit*. Years are generally either good or bad. In other words, with regard to the ripening of the five cereals, there are best, medium and worst qualities. And to take on examination is this: after every autumn crop the official representative and his assistant officials go round the district and examine the cereals to see whether they have matured or not. For the best maturity the highest taxes are taken and for the worst the lowest. The common people call this *permission*. The representative officer reports to his lord just what he was seen on his travels round, and the lord then decides on the permit for that year, and notifies the people in writing what amount of taxes he will collect. This is called the *permit*. When the taxes are paid without such a permit, just as if there were none, this is called taking on *examination*. By settled permit is meant to take the average of the best and worst maturities for a period of 10 or 20

years and fix with that a rate at which the tax is to be paid yearly. Thus when there is the best maturity much is not taken, and in a year of worst maturity the people are not made to hate the government. This law is what Mencius refers to as the Tribute Law, and was the law of the Ka dynasty ; and though Mencius in the writings of Ryoshi calls it a bad law, he was really referring to something else. Let us now leave off discussing ancient Japan for a little and turn to the present. There is now no better law than that of the settled permit. To take on examination is very hard on the people. In fact the examination of the autumn crop by the representative officials is what the common people call *kemi* (hair seeing 毛見). When the representative officials are carrying out *kemi*, the people are kept running about for several days getting ready for them, clearing the roads, washing and cleaning up the houses and preparing all kinds of wonderful dishes. When the day for the arrival comes, the principal villagers go to the borders with horses and chairs to meet the officials and conduct them to the official residences, where entertainment of all kinds is then provided and all sorts of presents are made. The amusements are most elaborate. Not only to the assistants, but even to the lowest followers, according to their station, gold and silver is given. The expense consequent upon so doing is of an amount which cannot be calculated. If too little of all this is done, the hearts of the officials are not satisfied, and they demand various kinds of hard conditions which make the people suffer. And, in addition, when the *kemi* is carried out, by saying that a worst maturity is one of the best they make the permit a high one. But if, on the contrary, the entertainment is sufficiently elaborate, and the presents are sufficiently valuable, and the attendants, even down to the lowest, are sufficiently bribed, then their hearts being full, they issue a permit such that even a best maturity is made one of the worst. Consequently, the villagers do their best to make the representative officials happy. These men by carrying out

kemi gain largely, even their attendants receiving a great deal of gold and silver.

Thus all of the officials were wont to steal continually. And the evil was not confined to the *kemi* times. There was no limit to it even in ordinary times, whenever bribes were given to the representative officials and their assistants. Therefore, although the fellows who acted in this capacity had small salaries, they were actually on a level with the rich lords of the provinces. Even the assistants, who had only salaries enough to feed two or three mouths, not only supported ten mouths or more, but saved large sums of money besides, and finally bought themselves entrance into a family of the Hatamoto (household troops of the Shogun) and attained to much glory. The selfishness of the representative officials and the sending of bribes to them, as above mentioned, has been seen and heard of by me personally; for, some time ago, I lived in a country house and saw the sufferings of the people and the harm done to the State, which come from generally practising the method of taking by examination. But under the settled permit system this yearly *kemi* is not necessary. There is no difficulty in collecting taxes on this basis. If, therefore, there were no necessity of bribing the representative officials, there would be no such doings as I have described and no waste of gold and silver, and hence no hardship for the people. Therefore, even if taxes are collected on a high rate permit, the settled permit is nevertheless for the benefit of the people. If there were no *kemi*, the position of representative official would be unnecessary. The existence of the office means simply rice for food, and much rice besides to be given in bribes. That is to say, without it there would be no necessity for rice for food, to be so used, and this would be of advantage to the State. This is what is meant by speaking of the Law of Taxes on rice-fields, namely, that there is nothing which excels the settled permit. And as it is the law of the Daisei Shinu, there is nothing foolish in quoting it.

In Japan the people of the five provinces round Kyoto excel those of all other provinces in agriculture. In the eight provinces east of Hakone they are lazy. In customs, too, the Kyoto people are more upright; while in the provinces east of Hakone they are proud and extravagant. This is what I, Jun, have myself seen and heard. Anyone wishing to govern the people must know this.

The high or low price of rice affects the profit or loss of the people. The men who govern the country must do their best to plan with this in view. Of the four classes of people, the farmers generally cultivate the cereals. After paying their taxes with a part of the product, they eat the rest, or sell it to meet their various requirements. *Samurai* receive salaries from their lords, and with these they meet their needs for clothing, food and other things. Artisans make implements, using their four limbs, and they exchange what they make for rice. Merchants sell goods and buy rice. Of the four kinds of people, the *samurai* and farmers sell rice, and artisans and merchants buy rice. Therefore, when rice is dear it is to the profit of the *samurai* and the farmer, and to the loss of the artisan and merchant. If rice is cheap, then it is to the profit of the artisan and merchant, and to the loss of the *samurai* and farmer. From ancient times cheap rice has been the sign of peace. During the time of the Emperor Sho, of the Kan Dynasty, rice was bought and sold at five *sen* per *koku*. In the reign of Taiso, in the To Dynasty, rice was said to be three to four *sen* per *to*. This was really the result of peace, and though anciently the measures might be relatively short, and the purchasing power of the *sen* high, five *sen* per *koku* and three to four *sen* per *to* are very cheap prices. We call this the sign of peace, because of the beauty of having an abundance of cereals and a lack of scarcity for the people. But truly if rice is very cheap, the *samurai* and farmers will suffer loss. From ancient times, however, until quite recently the four classes of people used rice for all their requirements, and gold and silver were not used as they are at this day; so

that with rice cheap and the rice cereal abundant and the warehouses full, the *samurai* and merchants were not troubled. In the present age the *daimyo* and all below them, down to the common people, assemble at the Eastern Capital exactly like travellers, and use gold and silver to meet their various wants; therefore, if rice is high, the *samurai* rejoice, and if it is dear, they grieve. The *samurai* receive plenty of gold and silver, and since they are stupid as regards profits and their mind for saving is small, for the sake of having a short experience of pleasure and glory they spend their gold and silver freely. And the artisan and merchant fellows obtain this profit and are glad. Should high-priced rice be sold, the quantity required for food is small, and hence the profit made is large. So, though rice is dear, no real hardship is felt. If rice is cheap, then the *samurai* are short of gold and silver, and the artisans and merchants do not get much profit. Therefore, at present, if rice is very cheap, the four classes of the people suffer much more than in ancient times. Here is where the ancient and present governments are not alike. Generally speaking, then, if the price of rice is very cheap, the *samurai* and farmers suffer; while if it is very high, then it is the artisans and merchants who are sure to suffer. Consequently, during the time of the Emperor Gi, of Kan, a person named Kojusho said to his lord, "Peace warehouses have been established. They have been built in various places, and when the price of cereals is cheap, the price at the warehouses is raised, and the people's cereals are bought up and stored in the warehouses, and when cereals are dear, the price is then reduced and the cereals sold. In this way the price of the cereals is never very dear or very cheap, the price is always a proper one, and the four classes mutually do not suffer any harm." The reason why rice is generally stored up by a peaceful government is that bad years and famine may thus be provided against. And in case there arises some special event, then it can be used, say, for provisioning troops. This is of great importance for State purposes, and is a thing now carried out. If cereals are

stored for a long time, such as rice in the husk, stored no matter for how long, they never develop insects and do not rot.

In the present dynasty, from the beginning of the Shogun government until Kembyo (the 5th Shogun), though the price of rice was very cheap, the *samurai* did not suffer so very much, because the customs then prevailing were pure, and there was no extravagance, and things were not especially dear. During the Genroku period, in the Shogunate of Kembyo, the price of rice was still cheap, so that in the Eastern Capital it was one *ryo* for one *koku* and one or two *sho*. Kembyo, however, was fond of extravagance, and things became gradually dearer under his rule, and the *samurai* were troubled and talked amongst themselves, bewailing the cheap price of rice and saying that with rice at one *ryo* per *koku* they would be unable to live. This might have been so, but for the fact that through the extravagance of the upper classes silver and gold had great circulation and borrowing and lending were much practised, so that the *samurai* did not after all really find it hard to live.

In the 12th year of Kembyo, the year 1699, in the autumn, on the night of the 15th day of the 8th month, there was a typhoon and the cereals of the year did not ripen. In the winter of this year, at the rice treasury, the price for 100 bags, or 35 *koku*, was fixed at 59 *ryo*, that is, seven *to* of rice for one *ryo*. Inasmuch as rice had for a long time been very cheap, the *samurai* secured large profits and were very glad. The artisans and merchants, however, and small people generally, even though they put forth their best efforts, were only able to sup gruel. After the price of rice had remained at the above high figure for three years, in the winter of the year 1701, there were a great many starving people in the city, and along the roads there were the bodies of those who had died of starvation. So Kembyo ordered certain officers to build sheds in the village of Honjo, where daily for over 100 days several tens of *koku* of rice were boiled into gruel and given away. In the spring of the following year the

starving people gradually became less numerous. For two years after this the cereals ripened well, and the price of rice ought to have gradually fallen; but in the year 1703, on the night of the 23rd of the 12th month, there was a severe earthquake in the Eastern Capital, and the eastern provinces as a whole were affected by the calamity. The large and small *daimyo* called out the people for the repair of their cities and castles, and there was much suffering by reason of this forced labour. The next year, moreover, 1704, in the third day of the 7th month, there was a flood to the north-east of Yedo, and the rice did not come to maturity, and the price returned to what it had been before. Then again, in the year 1707, at the end of the 10th month, fire came forth from Mount Fuji, and sand-stones fell over an area of several tens of *ri* round about, and in the eastern provinces the rice-fields were buried, so that the number of deserted fields could not be counted. For this reason rice again became high. In the year 1709 Kembyo died and Bumbyo, the 6th Shogun, succeeded to the shogunate. Then from the autumn of the year 1711 the price of rice gradually became cheaper, so that in the spring of 1712 it was about nine *to* for one *ryo*. By this time the *genkin* (元金) of the Genroku period had been abolished and *kenkin* (乾金) had come to be current, and thenceforth once more two *ryo* of the *kenkin* was considered as one *ryo*. Then a request for a return to the old currency of Keicho was made, and the people quickly lowered the value of the *kenkin* and reckoned one *ryo* as half a *ryo*; and when the price of rice ought to have become gradually cheaper, the very reverse took place. The value of the currency had been reduced by half, and so rice became once more dear. In the 10th month of the year 1712 Bumbyo died, and left behind him the advice that the gold currency be revised.

In the time of Shobyo, the 7th Shogun, the *kenkin* currency was low in value, and once more over four *to* of rice was bought and sold for a *ryo*. Towards the end of the Shotoku period there were cases of starvation amongst the

lower classes, but they were few as compared with those of the former times Previous to the end of the Shotoku period the gold currency was not improved. When the Shobyo government came into power a return was made to the old currency of Keicho, and from the first year of Kyoho (1716) until the 6th year of Shinchiu (1721) rice still remained at a high figure, though during the 20 odd years between Kibo (1699) and Shinchiu (1721) the price went up and down. When cheapest it was never as low as one *koku* for one *ryo*. But from the winter of Shinchiu the price increased greatly, so that in the summer of the following year 100 bags of treasury rice were sold for the equivalent of 56 *ryo* of the present currency, which would be the same as 112 *yen* of *kenkin* currency, or say 6 *to* 2 *sho* and 5 *go* of rice for the *ryo* of today. This is the highest price quoted at any time since the Genroku period. How then was it that in the Capital there were no cases of starvation? For over 20 years from the year Kibo the poor people had become accustomed to dear rice and had learned how to live accordingly, and then, too, the *samurai* spent a great deal of money. We hear of dear rice in ancient times, though it never reached the high prices of recent years; and yet there were people then who starved. The fact that during the times of very high prices in recent years there were none who starved, was due to experience and inexperience. Experience is to have learned about a thing. Such things are difficult for the minds of ordinary people to grasp. There is generally a natural reason for any great change that takes place. In the winter of 1722 rice suddenly became cheap. After this it rose a little and then fell a great deal. During six or seven years it became cheaper and cheaper, until it was only about two fifths of the high price of former times. The people came to regard rice as the same as dirt. The *samurai* and gentlemen sold all that they didn't want for food, and used the money received in payment for other purposes, and they were so busy that, although they worked from morning till night, there was not

time enough for all their undertakings. In order to do other things they sold so much rice that they hadn't enough left to eat, and their sufferings were extremely severe. And the farmers were in the same plight as the *samurai*. In good years, though large quantites of cereals were harvested, when it came to selling them, the sales did not repay the cost of the men and horses employed for transport purposes; so that people got barely enough to eat and could make no profit at all. As the *samurai* were poor, money was scarce, and even such men as merchants and artisans got little profit. Therefore, just as with the *samurai*, the lower classes had not enough property and rice to live on, and so many starved. It is difficult to explain this by natural logic. Generally speaking, as mentioned above, cheap rice was anciently considered a sign of peace; but at present, if rice is very cheap, it causes suffering to the four classes. This is because of the differences between modern and ancient times. It is because in ancient times rice was honoured and now money is honoured. This kind of thing is said to be due to the force of circumstances. Without knowing this fact it is difficult to govern. All that Kagi, of the Kan dynasty, said was to this effect.

The Law of Public Granaries (常平倉) as carried out by Shujusho, of the Kan Dynasty, was just the same as what is in vogue at the present time. Generally, any agreement about the profit and loss of the four classes, as regards dear and cheap rice, is only of short duration. When there is a succession of fruitful years and there are large quantities of the cereals in hand, it is truly beneficial for the State. Though it is usual with the *samurai* and gentry of the present to look upon cheap rice as a calamity and to wish for bad years, this is against reason. Therefore when we argue in favour of raising the price of rice, there is no wish on our part to decrease the actual quantity of rice in the land. It is difficult now to carry out the Law of Granaries. But it should be the case that practically at all places within the

four seas, which are under public jurisdiction, warehouses are built and the cereals of the districts round about stored therein and not sent to the Eastern Capital. It should not be sold even at the places of production, but stored up; so that if it grew scarce in the Eastern Capital, the price would increase naturally. If there were enough rice in the Eastern Capital to support the *samurai*, and to serve as a reserve against unforeseen calamities, then there would be no shortage. If, in addition to these two reasons, large quantities of rice are transported here and there within the four seas, this must be regarded as needless work. If a larger quantity of rice than is needed at the Eastern Capital is sent there, then the price will be greatly lowered and universal distress will be the result. In the Eastern Capital, if rice is scarce, the price will rise, and if it is dear there, it will be dear everywhere within the seas. This then is one real gain. If rice is very cheap, the people regard it as dirt. If the price rises a little, then all know how to honour the cereals. And this is the second gain. Should the granaries be built and large quantities of cereals be stored in them, then if bad years of floods or drought should occur, there would be a provision for succouring the people.

It is said that in the government of the *Seno* (先王) for three years of cultivation there would surely be one year's food, and for nine years' cultivation there would be three years' food, and that if this could go on for thirty consecutive years, even though there should occur bad years of drought and flood, there would nevertheless be no vegetable-coloured people; and it was said further that if the country had not nine years' store in hand, this would be equivalent to a shortage, and if not six years' store, that would mean danger, and if not three years' store, the country would be virtually non-existent as such. *Vegetable-coloured* means that the starving people ate vegetables and the colour of their faces became bad. For a country not to exist as a country means for it to have been broken up and seized by other people. But if the cereals

at distant places are not transported to the Eastern Capital, but are left instead where they are grown, and are stored there for nine or ten years, then when any unexpected calamity occurs, they can be taken out and used to succour the people. And during this time, should the price of rice generally become very dear, the stored up rice can be sold at a reduced price. Then, when rice is again very cheap, it can be bought up once more and stored in the warehouses, and thus the four classes need not suffer from its being either very cheap or very dear. This is the third gain. Further, if the cereals are not moved to the Eastern Capital, the State is not put to the expense of their transport thither. And this the fourth gain. *So* (漕) is to transport by boat. *Ten* (運) is to transport by cart. As the granaries have the above named advantages, should they be established at this time, it would be in accordance with good government. If it is intended to establish granaries and store up cereals, the latter must be of unhusked grain. Hulled rice easily develops insects and rots. For long-time storage unhulled rice is best. The history of Japan shows that in the time of the Emperor Hai granaries were established.

Generally the *samurai* and those above them have rice-field stipends (田祿). Rice-field stipends are rice-field ground given by the lord. This is what is now called *Chiko* (知行). The meaning of *Chiko* is to make rice-field ground one's own property; therefore *Chiko* must certainly be connected with local land. At present those receiving small stipends, and that in the shape of rice from the rice granaries, even though they have no land, call themselves *Chiko*, in imitation of those who receive land. Those who receive rice stipends and carry out the *Chiko* principle are called *kiujin* (給人). Those below *kiujin* who do not receive rice stipends, but instead store up rice or gold or silver money, and who receive clothing and food, are said to be salaried (俸). This is what the vulgar now call *setsubei-kiubun* (切米給分). Salaries are divided into two kinds, the yearly and the monthly.

Again, when rice is given on salary account, this is called a rice salary (米俸), and when gold is given, it is called a gold salary (金俸). When a person does not receive a rice stipend, but receives a rice or gold salary, he is what is today called a *muzokujin* (無足人). This is a rule with agriculturists, who amongst themselves call a person who owns rice-fields a farmer, *hyakusho* (百姓), and a person without rice-fields a *muzokujin*. Generally speaking, the officials of the country, down to those of the lower classes, as many as do not receive rice stipends receive rice salaries. In the present generation, from those who attend on the Shogun's court down to the lowest followers, *sotto* (卒徒), all receive rice salaries. *Sotsu* (卒) are a kind of *ashigaru* (足輕), (lower followers of the Shogun's court). *To* is a sort of small personage of the Chugen (lower attendants of the Shogun's court). In the domains of the several *daimyo* both rice salaries and gold salaries are paid. The older lords pay more frequently in rice than in gold. In fact there are some who pay no gold salaries. With the newer *daimyo*, however, gold salaries prevail for the most part, with only an occasional one paid in rice. In the countries of the *daimyo* it is as a rule inconvenient to pay gold salaries. In fact, to speak plainly, the income of the large and small *daimyo* received from their fiefs is in rice, and as they sell this rice they receive in exchange gold and silver. If rice is dear, then they receive much gold and silver; whereas if it is cheap, then the gold and silver received is of small amount. The different *daimyo*, in estimating for the men they have to support, must allow for few *kiujin* but many *muzokujin*. Rice comes from the rice-fields; so that, provided there are no calamites, such as those by flood and drought, the amount of rice given to the *kiujin* is the same from year to year, without increase or decrease. It is only as regards the *muzokujin* who receives a gold salary that it alters; because, according to the high or low price of rice, more or less of the cereal is then given out. From the time of Genroku (1688) until the 6th or 7th year of Kyoho (1722), as

the price of rice was high, very little was given out on account of the gold salaries that had to be paid, and the governing classes profited in consequence; but from 1722 on rice was very cheap, so that the amount given out for gold salaries was more than double what it had been before. Again, in these present times the large and small *daimyo* are all poor and have not enough for the requirements of their holdings; therefore they either reduce the stipends of the *kiujin*, or do not appoint other *kiujin* in cases of death, or else, unless where crime has been committed, they give to many long holidays, and so on. If we compare these times with those of thirty years ago, we find that the *daimyo*, who have regard for the men of the *kiujin* status and over, have been reduced in number and stipends, so that the total amount of rice given out is reduced by one third. This does not apply to the large countries of the older *daimyo*, but to the small *daimyo* of the new countries, which are all of about the same grade. By such means enough may be secured for meeting the country's needs. How is it that there is suffering in one year more than in another? The reason lies in the extravagance prevailing since the Genroku period, and is further due to the fact that so many receive gold salaries. And although, as has already been stated, the *kiujin* and those above them had both their stipends and their number reduced, it is not so easy to reduce the number of *muzokujin*. The salaries of these being settled, and all on the same basis, there is no way of thus reducing their number. From all this we may see that the ways of the ancients did not differ greatly from those of the people of the present time. The evils of paying out salaries in gold are now clear.

As the *samurai* do not practice farming and are generally supported by their lords, it is natural that such low fellows as attendants and servants should be paid in rice. The business men and artisans, having themselves no salaries, when they keep servants, of course pay them in silver or gold. But the stewards of the different *daimyo* cannot keep people on gold

wages. If they wish to change a gold to a rice salary, they must take into account the highest and lowest rates of rice wages ruling in recent years. The medium price for about twenty years ought to be taken in order to decide what the rate for rice salaries should be. If all the *muzokujin* were paid in rice, then the quantity necessary for the keep of the people could be easily determined, and there would be no increase or decrease. Should there be a bad year, when the cereals failed to ripen and the quantity paid in to the State fell below the average, then in relation to that quantity the salary for that year should be reduced. If it is a fixed rice salary, no one would be disturbed by having it reduced.

Generally speaking, those above the *samurai* and gentlemen who receive field stipends, including even the various princes and Emperors, receive the same from that which comes out of the earth. What comes from the earth is principally rice and cereals. Thus the stipends of the *samurai*, the gentlemen and those above them are rice and cereals. These stipends were formerly called "cereal stipends." Because of this custom the *samurai* and gentlemen and those above them, especially the different princes etc., must of course manage all their affairs with the use of rice. To manage every thing with rice means that all expenses ought to be settled on a rice basis. This is what was meant when reference was made to the way of honouring the cereals.

In these times gold currency is honoured, and therefore all of the princes of provinces settle their expenses on a gold or silver basis. For instance, so many gold and silver *ryo* for taxes, so many gold and silver *ryo* for clothing, furniture etc., so many gold and silver *ryo* for the needs of the kitchen, so many for the up-keep of the stables, so many for the maintenance of the women's department, so many for the support of the heir, and so many more for that of the other children, so many for the help of relations and poor people, and so on. Not only have the *muzokujin* to be provided for with gold

salaries, but the great error is committed of following the custom of the age in settling all of the above mentioned expenses in gold and silver. If expenses are settled in gold and silver, then whenever the price of rice is high the quantity of the rice given out is small and is to the advantage of the one giving it. And when the price of rice is low, the quantity given out is great, which involves a corresponding loss.

As the scale of expenses is already settled, there is very little chance of increase or decrease, so that more or less rice goes out without the quantity being fixed, and this makes the accounts difficult to keep, and not only causes great inconvenience to the State, but, as has occurred in late years, when rice is very cheap, the quantity of rice given out is doubled, even though the payments in gold and silver are fixed as to their amounts; all which leaves a shortage for the use of the State. This accounts for the poverty of the *daimyo*. If these expenses were estimated in rice, then there would be simply so many *koku* of rice for so and so. Let a payment be fixed at such and such a number of bags, then whether rice was cheap or dear the quantity given out would not be increased or decreased, and there would be neither profit nor loss to the giver out. The consequence of this would be that, the amount of the expenses being definitely fixed, the accounts could be easily kept. Accounts (*kaikei* 會計) are accounts (*kanjo* 勘定), and when settled in gold and silver, in the event of rice being very cheap, to reduce the salaries of others in proportion to the price of rice would be difficult, although one might reduce one's own expenses at will. But with regard to all those dependent upon the lord's bounty, such as the occupants of the women's department, the heir and the other relations, if when rice was cheap their supplies were reduced from the settled amount, it would certainly cause dissatisfaction and anger towards the lord. Also the lord's officers would be made angry by such a course. Therefore, even should rice become very cheap, it is impossible to lower the above mentioned gold and silver

expenses in proportion to the fall in the price of rice. This is a thing which, because of the nature of man, cannot be helped. Therefore no one will deny that all of the above expenses ought to be settled in rice. If this is done, then the rice can be sold, and gold and silver received for use in meeting all expenses. If rice is high, then there will be a great deal of gold and silver received, and it can be used lavishly. When the price of rice is low, to conform with the consequent scarcity of gold and silver things can be done without, and one's needs reduced, and economy practiced. Should the condition of the *samurai* and gentlemen and those higher up be just the same whether rice is low or high, then there would be no reason for discontent anywhere. It would mean that the hearts of the people would be left undisturbed by reason of any rise or fall in rice, and that there would be no profit or loss as concerns the budget, and no anxiety as to a possible scarcity for meeting the needs of the State. This is a very important matter in the country's accounts. By accounts is meant the sum total of the receipts and expenditures of the *daimyo* and of those above them.

In the dynasty of Kan the Emperor Bu was much given to extravagance, and, more than this, the affairs of the State were many and various, so that all of the different feudal princes were poor, and they borrowed gold, silver, rice and cereals from the rich merchants in order to satisfy their wants. Then when the autumn harvest was garnered, they repaid these loans from the village revenues. Village revenues are the receipts (收納) from *Chiko*. The *Shiki* and *Kanso* relate that for these loans the lords of the fiefs made supplication actually with bowed heads. The lords of the fiefs are those who have received lands within the domains of the feudal princes, or, in other words, what we now call *daimyo*. To bow the head is meant that the lords of the fiefs, even though men of honourable degree, bent their heads to the low merchant-fellows and begged! The meaning of *kyokiu* (to supplicate) is this: *kyo* (仰) is to request and *kiu* (給) is to carry on. To be

pressed by need and to be unable to keep up appearances, and so to have to ask others for help, is to supplicate. What we hear concerning the Emperor Bu happened a long time ago, but at present the *daimyo* all, both large and small, lower their heads and beg from the shop-keepers. In Yedo, therefore, and Kyoto, Osaka and other places they manage to live simply by the favour of the rich who are residents of those places. Hence all of the village revenues go to these people, the capitalists (子貸家), and such things occur as that at harvest time they will go and lock up the warehouses of the *daimyo*. The capitalists are the people who lend the gold and silver. But even though the village revenues are all given over, there is still not enough to repay the loans, and the *daimyo* are being constantly pressed for payment and cannot easily find excuses to give to the claimants. When they see the capitalists they fear them as they would a god, forgetting that they themselves are *samurai*, and they bow down to them, to shop-keepers, or else they give away valuable articles in order to secure escape for the time being. So they starve their households to feast the capitalists. As capitalists the merchants and shop-keeper fellows are in effect given salaries without any reason whatever, and are admitted into the ranks of the family retainers. They let things which they have thus received remain in their possession, not paying for them, and they go so far as to withhold just payment from artisans and labourers, and thereby cause suffering to these people. They forget modesty and shame and are all alike guilty of inhuman and unrighteous conduct. If it is thus with *daimyo*, how much more with the *samurai* and the gentlemen.

This is an altogether rotten state of affairs, and sad indeed. Some one may say that it all exists simply because of the extravagant customs prevailing since the Genroku times; but really it is because the *samurai* and gentlemen and those above them do not understand how to live. From the Emperor down to the lowest of the people, however, all ought to understand how to live.

In the Keiki, in the Chapter "On Government by Kings", it is stated that "The receipts must be counted and then deliveries made". This is a most important sentence on the subject of how to live. A thousand sayings in a thousand words are contained in this one sentence.

Since the common people are much the most clever as regards the knowledge of how to live, we will say nothing about them here. While discussing the living of the *daimyo* and the counting of receipts, it should be said that these latter refer to what is received for one year's *Chiko*. That is to say, the finding out of the total of what is received in one year in rice, cereals, and taxes on the sea and on the mountains, this is what is called counting the receipts. To pay out results in the use of that which is paid out, and generally there is no limit to what the heart of man desires in the way of dissipation and pleasure; hence no matter how much rice, cereals, riches and property are thus scattered, man never thinks it is enough and remains unsatisfied. But there must be limitations according to circumstances, and estimates must be made out for the proper amounts to be spent; and yet in speaking of the proper amounts these are difficult to arrive at. It is only done by counting the receipts and then paying out accordingly. This is what must first be carefully seen to, that is, the taking into consideration whether one's circumstances be large or small, and counting the amount of *Chiko*, or revenue, received, and so getting at the total, counting the fixed total amounts, for instance, to be paid out every year in rice, cereals, gold and silver, and striking a balance between receipts and expenditures, and seeing which is the greater. To have the greatest amount of revenue and the least of expenditure, this is best, this is the ideal. If the expenses are greater than the revenue, there will be a shortage; and should a deficiency occur, even if it be but slight, some of the expenses ought to be reduced and thought be given as to where the reduction may be most properly made.

Finally, the law of economy is that the expenses must be less than the revenue. Economy means that everything is brought within the circle (内輪). Confucius said, "Be frugal" (節用). Bokushi in his teachings said, "Frugality is especially important". The knots, *settsu* (節), of the bamboo have limits. So with regard to to expenses, they ought to be kept within limits, as are the knots of the bamboo, and carefully counted, so as not to exceed the limits of the knots. This is frugality. In the Government of the Kings the saying, "Receipts must be counted and then payments made", means frugality. It means that the payments must be less than the receipts. The State of course has expenses (*keihi*). Here *kei* (經) means usual, and *keihi* usual (常) expenses. The yearly public and private settled expenses in rice, cereals, gold and silver are called *keihi*. The occasional requirements, for say once in two, three, four or five years, are also included in *keihi*. *Keihi* is that which is estimated for and for which preparations are made in one year for the next, so that when the time arrives no difficulty will be experienced. This *keihi* is the expenditure of the revenue for meeting expenses. People like if possible to have their revenue and their expenses balance, and usually so arrange it that there is nothing left over; and they also like to regulate their lives by living full up. This is the high class finance of these present times. But in the country and in the State there is such a thing as the unexpected happening, that is, the occurrence of things that have not been previously thought of. The first of these unexpected things are calamities by flood, drought or typhoon, such that the cereals of the year do not ripen and there is a shortage in the village revenues. Then next are the calamities due to fire and water, which are heaven sent. Robbers are calamities caused by man. Then again *gunryo* (軍旅) and *koyeki* (行役) are the results of great events occurring in the State. Though armies (*gunryo*) are not used in times of peace, yet to see that preparations for war are not forgotten, is the way of safe-guarding the country. Even in peaceful times armies

must be continually thought of. *Koyeki* is the watch, *ban* (番), who now guard Kyoto and Osaka. The performance of military service is generally called *koyeki*. There is sure to be the need of *koyeki* in times of peace. All these are unexpected things which come from the outside. But to have in one's house a sick person, or a death, these are unexpected things which come from the inside. These inner and outer unexpected things may come at any time, and necesitate the expenditure of rice, cereals, treasure, and others sorts of property. They cannot be run away from, whether by the Emperor, or by the *daimyo*, or by those below them down even to the common people. Again, on the occasion of festivals, such as *kitsuji* (吉事) and *kaji* (嘉事), the gods and the ancestors are worshipped. What the common people of today call the performance of the yearly mourning, this and Buddhist worship generally, are *kitsuji*. Births, changes in life at 15 years of age, and marriage are *kaji*. Although these are not certain for every year, they are nevertheless sure to occur sometime, and as they call for the expenditure of rice, cereals, gold and silver, even though they are not properly *keihi*, they are of the same nature as *keihi*. Then again, even if nothing happens to one's own country or house establishment, there are unexpected sorrows, which come to relations or other people, and these cannot be overlooked. As the unexpected is sure to happen to the province and to the private individual, provision for it must be made in advance. To make provision is to take note of and remember. Therefore, to think that the amount of the revenues and the expenses may properly be the same, and that only, is not to provide for the unexpected. If no preparations are made for the unexpected, and the unexpected is then encountered, there will be a shortage of what is necessary; and here begins the process of borrowing. If rice, cereals, gold and silver are borrowed, they must be returned plus the interest. The debts increase in the way young rats are born. And first of all comes the difficulty of repayment. Because of this the above mentioned lords must certainly beware of the unex-

pected. To beware is to take care. Ribun said, "To prepare beforehand for the unexpected is a good teaching of the ancients." For instance, if it is asked why the expenses should be less than the revenue, and preparations be made for meeting the unexpected, the answer is found in the Law of the Kings, where it is said, "If there are three years of cultivation there must be one year's food". This is the law of the Sages. This law does not mean that if there are three years of cultivation there will surely be a surplus amounting to one year's supply of food. It means that the income for one year shall be divided into four parts, three for that year's nourishment and one for a surplus to be saved. For instance, take a *daimyo* of the present time who has an income of 10,000 *koku*. Let him use 7,500 *koku* to meet immediate public and private wants, and store the surplus of 2,500 *koku*. Then by adding together this surplus for three years you have 7,500 *koku*. This is one year's food. If this plan is carried out, one-fourth being saved every year, in nine uneventful years there will be savings amounting to three years' nourishment, and in thirty uneventful years there will be ten years' nourishment saved. And thus, no matter what bad years, what famines or unexpected calamities may come, there will be no shortage for the country. In the minds of the men of the present day a surplus of one-fourth every year is very much too great. But this is foolish account-keeping.

Should fires occur in the countries of the *daimyo* and their castles be burnt, this will use up several years' income from their villages. If there are fires which burn up the *yashiki* in the Eastern Capital, this will mean the paying out of two or three years' village revenue. Or if there are earthworks to be built for the State, then labour must be provided, or if there is military service to be rendered, this too will mean two or three years of village revenue. In addition to these several causes, if there is also somewhat of the unexpected, then it will often happen that a half or whole year of the village revenues will have to be paid out on that account. If details of the accounts were

gone into, even if there were a surplus saved of a quarter each year, there would still be a deficiency. Through not understanding the old laws of the code called "The Law of the Kings," and through not saving out one year's food from every three, when the above mentioned unexpected circumstances arise then recourse must be had to loans from the merchants and shop-keepers; and thus, though the most urgent demands may be settled, there being no funds to meet this shortage year by year, the needs of the province will become more and more pressing, and at last there will be no means of feeding the household, and the things borrowed will not be returned, credit will be lost, duty will go unperformed, and in many other respects will there be failure to comply with the proper way of life. Therefore, is not the ancient way of the sages, this definite putting aside of one year's food out of every three, a good teaching in the interests of the budget? Generally speaking, for small and great people alike the revenue of this year ought to be used for the expenses of next year. To use this year's revenue for this year's expenses is very much too sudden. To do as the *daimyo* and those below them are at present doing, and exceed the year before they are received the revenues of that year, or of the year after, is the very worst of policies. It is truly most pitiable that such an unscholarly and unscientific way of doing things should exist.

In the foreign country (China) there are things called Duty-Warehouses (義倉). In the time of the Emperor Bun, of Da, there was an official of the Treasury (度支尚書) named Chosonhei. The *Takushishosho* is the office for controlling the various affairs of State relative to expenditure and the receiving and delivering of money and cereals. In the time of Kaiko, Chosonhei memorialized the Emperor and built duty-warehouses in different places, and from each individual house of the people, according to its poverty or wealth, one *koku* or upwards of millet and wheat had to be given every year. This was collected and stored in the local warehouses, and the village fathers and elders were put in

charge of it. In ordinary years this was kept intact, but in bad years of famine it was given out to relieve distress. These buildings were called duty-warehouses, because by means of them the people mutually helped each other in times of dire need. They also existed in Japan in the time of the Emperor Bun, and the principle is likewise carried out now. If the people in different places, as a matter of course, and the *samurai* and gentlemen of the different daimiates were to adopt this method, it would be of great assistance to all. The following is an example of the law. The *daimyo* of 10,000 *koku* and over ought to deduct 1/20 from the salaries of their retainers and store that amount in the duty-warehouses. One-twentieth is five bags taken from every one hundred bags. It should be taken, of course, from the salaries of those receiving one hundred bags and upwards, and from all of smaller salaries also one out of twenty should be taken. The lord, too, should give one-twentieth. If he had 10,000 *koku*, then this would mean for him 500 *koku*. Thus one-twentieth would be taken every year from high and low alike. If stored in cereals, it would be in rice or millet, and any surplus could await a time of high prices, and be then sold and the sum received laid up in gold. From out the ranks of the *samurai* some one honest and well versed in figures could be chosen and put in charge of the duty-warehouse; and under him men could be placed to guard the same, and these guards could be used also in the labour of receiving and giving out cereals. Should there be a bad year at any time and the food supply be deficient, then this stored up supply could be taken out and the shortage be made good. Should there be such an occurrence as a fire in this or that country village, or at the *yashiki* in the Eastern Capital, the supply could be drawn upon also to overcome this trouble. To any who have encountered such experiences of calamity this help can be given, or they can have it lent to them. These are the dangerous troubles which may happen equally to all. Again, in the house of a *samurai* there may be some sudden sickness

or death or other occasion of mourning, and thus an experience of pressure all unexpected and hardly to be endured; and again, even though without its being unexpected, a wife may be wedded or a daughter be given in marriage, and so forth, and these events always call for large expenditures. At such times, an application being granted, cereals or money may be given out on loan, repayment to be made, according to the amount, in one year, or two, or three, or even four or five. For this loan interest would have to be paid. Interest should be settled at about one *sho* of rice per *koku* per month, the interest on gold and silver to be in like proportion. The rice interest to be returned to these duty-warehouses should all be deducted from the yearly salary. Usually borrowers among the *samurai*, if anything unexpected arises and there is not enough to meet the demand, borrow outside, and that means the payment of high interest, or else a possible sudden demand for the return of the money, which itself causes much trouble. Or, in the event of pressure beyond this point, one's substance, beginning with military and horse equipment, and including the valuable treasures of generations, is sold and dispersed; and there are many who have even to pawn their clothes, which prevents them from performing their public and private duties. Those of the *samurai* of to-day, who are damaged in reputation and have lost their honour have all begun in precisely this way. Are there some persons who will question the propriety of thus lending out duty-warehouse money and cereals and causing interest to be paid thereon? Pawnbrokers and money-lenders all lend at high rates of interest, and so, instead of wishing to borrow from outside at high rates, to go to the duty-warehouses would be to go to one's own armouries, as it were. Moreover, since there is no great pressure as regards time of payment, there is no such trouble involved as that of running after the people who have borrowed; and besides, this borrowing from the duty-warehouse is very convenient and for the benefit of the *samurai* concerned. After this law has been made, to

borrow outside, or to pawn clothing and military equipment, should be strictly prohibited, and laws be enacted forbidding the incurrence of any kind of debt. The *samurai* each knowing his position would put economy first, and the government on its part would be carried on so as not to favour extravagance. A country where this system prevailed, if fortunate enough not to be visited with any untoward event for a long period of time, would have the wealth of its duty-warehouses year by year increased. If, however, there should unfortunately come bad times, or should occasion arise for army or military service, and should there be a deficiency for the country or for the needs of the army, then the supreme lord and his retainers could borrow from the duty-warehouses and meet all such needs. And then, when uneventful times again came round, this drain could be made good in a very few years. Should a *samurai* die without heirs or relatives to succeed him, and his house thereby come to an end, and should he have a widow or orphan daughter, then an account could be taken of the cereals put into the duty-warehouse by his ancestors, and the amount be given to his widow or orphan daughter. This is again one of the methods of procedure characteristic of a humane government. The art of the duty-warehouse is somewhat as above described. Though duty calls for caution against extravagance in peaceful times, and enjoins carefulness as to expenses, and the saving little by little of one's property as a reserve against unexpected events; yet men of forethought are in the minority, and those who work only at things that are right before their eyes are in the great majority. So, if the government should issue such a command as the above, only one man in a hundred would make personal preparation for the unexpected. Most people, as regards things in their own houses, when something unexpected happens and they are pressed for the means to meet the necessity thus arising, will use up the savings of years for this one occasion, and, clasping empty purses, finally become poor. The duty-warehouses

contain the savings of a province and not those of any one person. There are laws both for storage and for delivery, and the goods cannot be taken out at will. If a certain settled amount of rice is yearly taken from the salaries, and if private houses are not asked to make new gifts, then the people will not suffer greatly. Generally speaking, a hundred million people are not all of the same mind, and they differ in the amount of good or bad which they experience from the government; but when something unexpected occurs, they are one in the suffering that arises from a lack of the means to meet their various necessities. Therefore, notwithstanding the fact that when, under the control of the lord of the province, there is gain or loss, the government which in ordinary times takes these precautions against unexpected calamity is a good government. The duty-warehouses referred to just now are a device which can be put in practice at any time or place. I have heard that at present in Miharu, in Oshiu, the government of Mr. Akita is of this nature. We should like to see that of other *daimyo* the same. That government is good for country and village, which is well regulated, and which secures the production of enough for paying the salaries and for providing the food of high and low alike. The *daimyo* of these days are all wasteful and hold back the salaries of their retainers, not paying them the settled amount. Their old debts are of such a kind that even several years' income, if all were used, would not suffice to cover them, and they would find it impossible to erect duty-warehouses. All this causes a person with thoughts on economics veritable pain and sorrow.

With regard to the ancient Japanese gold currency, we do not know much about it; but we have heard that from the middle ages gold was used. It is not clearly known when it was that silver was first used. Copper money was not cast in large quantities subsequently to the casting of the *Wado* (和銅) copper coins. After the middle period of ancient times the *Kaigen sen* (開元錢) of China (唐) came over in large quantities to this country, and after that came large

quantities of So (宋), *sen*. *So*, although *sen* had not been previously cast in Japan, there was no lack of this kind of coin (cash). In the eastern provinces of Japan the price of rice lands was estimated in *Yeiraku sen* (永樂錢), and salaries too were settled in amounts of so many hundreds or thousands of *kwan*. As the *sen* of China had been so plentifully used here, no Japanese *sen* had been coined; but in the present dynasty for the first time the new *sen* of the *Kwanyei* (寛永) (1624) years were cast. These have on them the characters "Current Treasure of *Kwanyei*" (寛永通寶). They were current along with the *sen* which from ancient times have come from abroad. It is said that one *kwan* (貫) of *Yeiraku sen* was equal to one *ryo* (兩) of yellow gold, and four *kwan* of *Kwanyei sen* were equal to one *kwan* of *Yeiraku sen*; but as large quantities of the new *sen* were issued, the value of the *Yeiraku* fell, so that later it became of the same value as the *Kwanyei*. Again, in the *Kwanbun* period (寛文, 1661), new *sen* were cast, on the face of which were the characters "*Kwanyei* Current Treasure," and on the back the character *bun* (文). In the Shotoku years (1711) and those of Kyoho *sen* were again cast of the same kind as the "*Kwanyei* Current Treasure," and bearing the characters "*Kwanyei* Current Treasure", but without the character *bun* on the back. As the new *sen* have been frequently cast, the foreign ancient *sen* are becoming gradually fewer.

In the Hoyei (1704) period, in Noshiu, a farmer who was digging a house site turned up some gold sheets (*hankin*, 板金), which in size and shape were similar to the *oban* of to-day. They had no characters or letters stamped upon them, but on both sides there were rough engravings. By engraved letters (欵識) is meant an inscription (銘名), or engraved seal (刻印). This man of Noshiu took the sheets he had found to Kyoto, and shewed them to a person in the Gold Currency Bureau there, and was informed that they were gold sheets of the Ota time. On asking why they bore no characters or inscription of any kind, he was told

that "being made of pure gold they would circulate without any inscription, and that there would be no one who would attempt to counterfeit them; and also that, in case it was necessary to use part of a coin; it could be cut into cubes and used by weight." I, Jun was in Kyoto at the time and saw these gold sheets. Generally, pure gold and silver are honoured. It is difficult to counterfeit pure metal; whereas stamps and characters are easily imitated. This was the reason that in former dynasties pure metal was employed and there were no seals or characters used with them. In the present dynasty pure gold and silver are used, but they have seals, characters and inscriptions. This is to prevent forgery. In gold the weight is four *sen* (錢) and eight *fun* (分) to the *ryo*. Two *sen* and two *fun* go to one *bu* (歩). An *oban* is thirty six *sen* in weight. This is seven *ryo* and two *bu*. A *koban* is four *sen* and eight *fun*, that is to say, one *ryo*. The gold *han* are round in shape, and the gold *bu* are long and rectangular. There are three kinds of gold currency, the values of which are not different, this high and that low, they are all three of the same value. One gold *ryo* equals sixty silver *sen*, and is usually current for four *kwan* and eight hundred *mon* of copper *sen*. At times the price is higher, and then again lower, but it is generally as above. In changing *oban* for *koban*, however or *koban*, for gold, exchange must be paid. The common people call this the cost of cutting (切賃), this meaning to cut big gold pieces into smaller ones. The exchange-shops take this exchange as their profit; but this is only for converting large coins into small, there is no real difference in value. There is no difference in the value of the *ryo*, whether it is expressed in *oban*, *koban* or *bu*. The reason a charge is made for exchanging from the larger denomination to the smaller is that the one is easier to use than the other. The denominations that are difficult to use are the *oban* and the *koban*. Therefore the gentry and people pay out exchange and obtain gold *bu*. This is to the profit of the exchange-shops and to the loss

of the gentry and those above them. Of these several varieties of coin the *oban* is the one least used by the people. The *koban* is used by the gentry in common with gold *bu*, and it is on this account convenient for effecting exchanges. Thirty years ago the exchange on one *ryo* was from eight to twelve *mon*; but in late years the usual rate is thirty or forty *mon*, though sometimes it goes as high as a hundred. This means great loss to the gentry. If it were possible, I should like to see the *hankin bu* (板金) abolished, and have only the one kind of currency, viz. gold *bu*. Then there would be no need to pay out money on exchange account, and this would be of great benefit to the gentry.

In the Keicho period of this dynasty (1596–1614) gold was obtained from the mines of Sado. With this a gold currency was made, which is still in use at the present time. During the Genroku period (1688–1703) there was not enough pure gold for the uses of the State, and a new gold currency, mixed with silver, copper, lead and tin, was coined. The inscription upon it contained the character *gen* (元). In addition to the three kinds above mentioned, gold *Nishiu* (二銖) were introduced. These were half a gold *bu* (歩), and were therefore smaller. The four kinds had lost the true yellow colour of gold and looked like brass. This was the new gold of the Genroku period, and it was current everywhere within the seas (Japan). The old gold of the Keicho period was abolished. It was not pure and was easily counterfeited, and there were a large number of criminal counterfeiters who were made to suffer crucifixion. The people despised this currency, because it was not of pure gold, and because it gradually increased the price of the different kinds of merchandise. The price of gold had not fallen relatively to that of old gold; but as the prices of merchandise had risen, the value (purchasing power) of gold had fallen. Again, there was a great deal of forged money in circulation, which people were constantly receiving without knowing it. Bumbyo was much perturbed on account

of this fact, and after his accession to the throne he wished to bring the gold currency back to its former condition. But as the money of the Genroku period was alloyed with silver, copper, lead and tin in the same proportions as gold, if he had wished to produce a currency like the old coins of the Keicho period, he would have had to diminish the amount of the gold currency by half. So he decided, as a temporary measure, and until such time as a return could be made to the old gold standard, to make small coins. He therefore recoined the gold *koban* and *bu* of the Genroku period, discarding the impurities they contained, and making a new currency out of pure gold. The thickness was lessened, the size made smaller, and the weight reduced to half that of the old currency. That is to say, the weight of the gold *koban* was made two *sen* (錢) and four *fun* (分), and the weight of the gold *bu* six *fun*, two *rin* and five *mo*. The gold *oban* was not altered, nor was the gold *nishiu*, as the intention was to abolish it. The new currency was issued during the Hoyei period (1704–1710), and it circulated within the seas on equal terms with the gold currency of the Genroku period. In the inscription on the gold *koban* there was introduced the character *ken* (乾) and so these coins were and are called *kenkin*. From the time this gold began to be used no forgeries have been committed by the people. As no one has suffered on account of the existence of false coins, the people have found this currency most convenient to have. But as the coins are thin and small, and the weight only half that of the coins of the old currency that were without reason despised, and though the actual coinage value has not fallen, the prices of many things are materially enhanced. Then again, this currency is not intended to be left long in circulation, but only until a return can be made to the old currency of the Keicho period ; since this in turn is only to be circulated for a short time, until the debased currency of the Genroku period can be effectively abolished. If in a short time a return is to be made to the old Keicho currency, the

people know that the *kenkin* will naturally come to be of only half the value; and so they advance the prices of all commodities in order to prevent any loss when the time of return to the old currency arrives. The cleverness of the common people at making profit out of knavery can never be equalled by the gentry and those above them. For this reason the *kenkin* is very inconvenient. When Kembyo was dying, in the 3rd year of the Shotoku period (1713), he sent for his ministers and made known to them his dying wishes, saying that it would be better to return to the old Keicho currency. Thereupon the people gradually reduced the value of the *kenkin* and raised the prices of commodities. They gradually altered values, so that one *ryo* (兩) became the equivalent of two *kwan* (貫) and six or seven hundred *mon*, (文) of copper money.

In the time of Sobyo (7th Shogun) a new currency was coined of the same standard as the old Keicho currency. The *koban* and *bu* were coined first, the *oban* not till later. They were made of pure gold. The inscription *ken* was done away with, and the size and weight were made just the same as in the old Keicho currency, and the coins were issued so as to come into circulation gradually towards the end of the Shotoku period. This was called *new gold* and one *ryo* of it was exchanged for two *kenkin ryo* and one *bu* for half a *Keicho bu*. Half a *bu* is a *nishiu*. Orders were given that this currency should be circulated in the same way as the old Keicho currency. At this time there were so many kinds of gold currency in use that a great deal of inconvenience was experienced by the people. The present government, at the beginning of the Kyoho period (1716), definitely abolished the *kenkin*, and at the same time did away with the old *nishiu* of the Genroku period, and caused the new gold to be circulated for the most part. When the new currency of the Genroku period was coined and the old currency of the Keicho period was thus abolished, the Keicho gold went quite out of circulation; but on the coming in of the new currency at the

end of Shotoku period, a return was made to the old currency of the Keicho. As the new and the old were caused to circulate on the same terms, a great deal of the Keicho appeared, amounting to about half of the total volume of the currency. Where it had lain hidden during the twenty years following the Genroku period no one can tell. The phenomenon was most strange. Although it was said that the new gold, the Kyoho, would take the place of all the *kenkin*; nevertheless, as the people knew that the *kenkin* was of pure gold, they no doubt hid large quantities of it. The old currency of the Keicho period, if compared as to its weight with the present new gold, is said to be distinctly lighter, there being some loss in weight due to rubbing during long years of use. Thus the new gold is held in esteem and the old gold despised, and the old which was hoarded is gradually being given out and the new hoarded instead. In a very few years' time the amount of Keicho gold in circulation has become really very great, the new gold being only one-tenth as much. From the fact that the old currency, which was abolished at the close of the Genroku period, has now come into circulation again, it can be clearly seen that a great deal of the present *kenkin* is being hidden. As gold and silver are the forms of wealth used for promoting the circulation of commodities, they are things which ought not to be hoarded and hidden. It is right that the bad gold of the Genroku period should be prohibited. The *kenkin*, however, though only small and thin, is of good gold, and if this is kept from circulating, then as much of it as is hoarded by the people is practically useless. After the time for recoining the currency is once past, old gold cannot be changed for new, and thus it will become naturally an abolished thing, like a hidden jewel buried in the earth. Is this not very sad? It is in this way, however, that the wealth in actual circulation becomes deficient. If possible, let the *kenkin* be estimated at half the value of the new gold, and, as before, let the old and new circulate together; then the hidden *kenkin* will be brought

out of hiding and the wealth of the world will become abundant. This is profitable for both the nation and the people. From 1727 the new gold *oban* were circulated, and those of the genroku period abolished, and at this time all of the gold currency recoined since the Genroku period was abolished, and a return made to that of the old Keicho. This was indeed good government. When the new law of the Kyoho was issued, the gentry and people, thinking that the gold currency of the country would be reduced by half, shed many tears; but, though several years have passed, during which the new gold has been in circulation, there is no special sign of loss through this reduction, and the people have forgotton their pain. The government truly made and has carried out a wise decision.

The silver currency of this dynasty has been from the beginning of two kinds: one, *silver shoes* (銀錠) and the other, *broken silver* (碎銀). As for the silver, four *sen* (錢) and three *fun* (分) go to one *ryo*. *Broken silver* is both large and small, not all alike, the weight varying from three *fun* to four of five *sen*. The shape being like that of a bean, the common people call the coin *mameita* (bean board). The *silver shoes* are in ten *ryo* pieces, the weight being the equivalent of forty-three *sen*. The common people call them silver sticks (銀挺). There are large and small shoes, they do not have to be all actually equal to ten *ryo*. Though there is no question of quality, i. e., of good and bad silver, in the two kinds; yet in converting shoe silver into broken silver, and vice versa, exchange has to be paid. As in changing gold *han* for gold *bu*, it is simply a matter of convenience. At the first, when the State was established, the silver was pure; but when it was recoined in the Genroku period, copper, lead and tin were mixed with it, and the number of coins made from a certain quantity of metal was increased. The character *gen* was placed in the inscription, and the money was called the new silver of the Genroku. Compared with the very old Keicho silver, it was a little lighter in colour. While this currency has been circulating in Japan, the old silver has been

abolished. As it was not of pure silver, there appeared many counterfeiters, and the gentry and people received a great many counterfeit coins. When this new silver should have been abolished in the Hoyei period, there was again a deficiency of coin for State purposes, and in order to increase the supply, the copper, lead and tin parts were added to, and in the inscription the character *ho* was stamped, and this was called the new silver of Hoyei. The silver of the Genroku was thereupon abolished, and the new Hoyei currency left to circulate alone. The colour was dark, and when compared with that of the Genroku coin it looked like lead. Accordingly the people despised it. But this was not all, the alloy was later increased, and the inscription was made to contain two of the *ho* characters. The colour then became really bad, and the contempt of the people became altogether exceptional. Nor did it stop even at this. Later on the alloy was again increased, and in the inscription three *ho* characters were introduced. And then the alloy was further increased, and four *ho* characters introduced. Therefore, in the Hoyei period the coinings of silver currency were called by the people the One *ho*, the Two *ho* and the Three *ho*. And when it came to the Four *ho*, the colour became very dark indeed, with practically nothing at all of the true colour of silver, being in no wise different from that of lead and tin. The way the people despised this money was precisely as if it had been earth and stones. The old silver at the time of the first beginnings of the State was counted at sixty *sen* to the gold *ryo*, one copper *sen* being usually taken as the equal of seventy or eighty *mon*. The value, or purchasing power, of the Three *ho* and Four *ho* bad silver, kept on decreasing, until there were over eighty *sen* to the gold *ryo*, one *sen* being taken at about forty *mon*. At this period the sorrows of the gentry and people were extreme. As in the eastern provinces gold and copper were the metals employed, very little silver was in use, and thus the suffering from the ill effects of bad silver was slight. But to the west of Kyoto, silver being more

largely in use, the ill effects of bad silver were many. Counterfeiting was extremely common, and the sufferings of the gentry and people on this account were beyond all conception. When Bumbyo succeeded to the government, he was at once greatly troubled by this sorrowful state of affairs. He wished to melt down the five lots of bad silver issued since the close of the Genroku period, and return to the old currency of the beginning of the State, and he finally ordered his officials to coin a new currency of pure silver, similar to that of the former time. In the second year of the Shotoku period the new currency came gradually to be circulated. Its value was the same as that of the old currency; for one *sen* of it was taken at four*s en* of the four *ho* currency, while three *ho*, two *ho* and one *ho* coins were taken at their relative silver value. The four kinds were accepted at a slight advance in the new currency, according to their colour. Inasmuch as there was not enough of the new currency for the needs of the people, the five kinds of bad silver were not abolished, but were allowed to circulate along with the new currency. This having but one kind of silver currency, though with six grades of excellence, was a cause of much suffering to the gentry and people. In the beginning of the Kyoho period, however, a new order was issued, in accordance with which all of the bad silver since the Genroku period was abolished, and only the new currency was left in circulation. By this means the silver currency of the country was reduced to one-fourth its former volume, and the gentry and people were made to suffer greatly in consequence; but after a number of years, when the new silver currency had spread throughout Japan, the suffering gradually disappeared, and the old state of affairs, that had existed at the beginning of the State, imperceptibly returned. This again was fortunate and a result of good government.

Copper sen came into circulation mostly after the Kwanyei period. In the Genroku period it became too scarce for the needs of the State; and so new sen were ordered

to be cast in the Eastern Capital. An official by the name of Hagiwara So and So, thinking to prevent any large use of copper, mixed in with it lead and tin, and made the *sen* smaller in size and thinner than before. The Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen* weighed ten *fun*. The Kwanyei new *sen* of the Genroku period, though inscribed Kwanyei–Tsuho, weighed only six or seven *fun*. The Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen* were dark red in colour, and for coarseness and badness were beyond all comparison in either ancient or modern times. In China the *sen* called *Niggardly Sen* (慳錢) were of this bad sort. The official's idea was that, whether the *sen* were good or bad, one *mon* would always be one *mon*, and he thought it useless to waste copper and good workmanship on them. This was owing to ignorance and a lack of understanding of past experience. The *sen* may be a lowly thing; but it is nevertheless a treasure of the earth for purposes of circulation, and is intended, not only for circulation in the present, but to remain for the use of future generations, and people talk about it as the *sen* of this or that man's time. In the reign of king Kei, of the Shu Dynasty, large *sen* were coined, and the inscription on them was *hokwa* (寶貨). Over 2200 years have passed since then; yet these coins remain to this day. As the Kan dynasty came after that of Shu, there is a large quantity of them still, and also, of course, a great quantity of what was introduced subsequently to the time of the Kan Dynasty. Of all old things that have been handed down to us, there are none that have continued to exist so long as *sen*; therefore in China great pains have been taken coining them. Copper of the very best has been chosen, and the inscriptions have been written by the best contemporary penmen. It is said that in the time of king Taiso, of To, when the Kaigen–Tsuho *sen* were coined, the great penman, Chosuiro, was ordered to write the inscription for them; and also that the inscription on the Daikwa–Tsuho *sen*, that were issued in the So period, was written by the Emperor Biso. Biso was one of the best penman in the

world of that day. These matters are not at all secret. And all the other *sen* also have given examples of the work of the best penman of the periods that produced them. The writing employed was in the seal (篆) form, the *rei* (隷) form, the eighth, tenth and true grass forms etc., and its beauty was all of one kind. Again, in the old *sen*, silver being mixed with the copper, the colour was green with white rays, and was pretty. Even now, if old *sen* are subjected to fire, the silver will come to the surface and stand out like dew, which is a proof of what I have written. The old *sen* of Japan, such as the *Wado* and *Kaichin*, are very beautiful, as regards coinage and the inscriptions placed upon them, and are not inferior to the old coins of the Middle Kingdom. In these times the copper of *Kwanyei* and *Kwanbun* is not only inferior in quality to the old copper, but the circumference of the coins is very large, and the characters in the inscription are very small, so that the general appearance is bad. The writing is done by ignorant persons, and the letters are badly shaped and not to be compared with those of the old *sen* of China, and they also can not be compared with the *Wado sen* of Japan. If such *sen* as these should be carried across to China and passed down to posterity, they would be laughed at by the people. Much more does this apply to the Hokei *sen* of the Genroku period, which are the worst *sen* ever heard of. Any one, therefore, who wishes to allow these to exist does not know what it is to bring shame to the State. The officials who have caused the State to err in the matter of their production have all been of this depraved sort. During the Hoyei period, as there were not enough *sen* for the needs of the State, orders were given to coin large sen, with a diameter of about one *sun* and five *bu* (one and seven eighths inches). The inscription on the face was Hoyei–Tsuho, and on the back were the four characters, Yei-kiu-sei-yo, and one *mon* was taken at ten *mon* of the ordinary *sen*. When these *sen* were issued the people thought them very inconvenient and

thoroughly disliked them; and though the State issued an order that they must be circulated, the people refused more and more to accept them. Notice was given that persons not using them would be severely punished. The officials gave orders daily to this effect; but the people were very determined, and the *sen* absolutely refused to circulate. At such a juncture even the power of the State could not enforce the circulation. Things that were not in accord with the desires of the people could not, even under severe penalty, be forced upon them.

In the spring of Teichu (1637), at the beginning of the government of Bumbyo, these obnoxious *sen* were abolished, and the people rejoiced exceedingly. But those persons who had accepted many of them in trade, and so had them in their possession, lost heavily on that account. Then, at the end of the Shotoku period, in the Shobyo reign, new *sen* were coined. The rules for the *sen* of the Kwanyei and later were adopted, and even the inscription was made Kwanyei-Tsuho; but the copper employed, when compared with that of the old sen of the Kwanyei and Kwanbun, we find to have been very inferior. The characters of the inscription were much smaller, and after say ten years' wear they quite disappeared. After this, the number of coins in use being too small, their purchasing power rose, and during the *Kyoho* (享保, 1716) period, new sen were coined, similar to those of the Shotoku period, and with the addition of these the number of *sen* in the hands of the people became once more sufficiently large. If there is a shortage of coin, the value (purchasing power) of the unit of exchange becomes high; whereas, on the contrary, if their number is too large, the value falls, just as with ordinary merchandise. The *sen* rate is generally based on the value of the Kwanyei *sen*, i. e., it is made four *Kwan* (貫) *mon* to the *ryo*. If the upper classes are paying out money to the lower, or the lower to the upper, this is the rate that is always used.

But among the people themselves the value is over four *kwan* and eight hundred *mon* to the *ryo*. When *sen* are scarce,

it sometimes happens that the price does not reach to four hundred *kwan mon*; or that when plentiful, it may reach as high as five *kwan*. It is to the advantage of the gentry that *sen* be cheap; whereas for the people dear *sen* bring profit. When *sen* are dear, gold is cheap; and when *sen* are cheap, gold is dear. Though it is to the profit of the merchant and shop-keeper to have *sen* dear; neverthless, even when *sen* are cheap, they do not lose their usual amount of profit, it is only the gentry who suffer. For, since these sell their rice for gold, and with gold buy *sen*, and make all their payments in *sen*, when gold is cheap and *sen* are dear, then they have not money enough for their needs. This is quite a different state of affairs from that of the merchants and shop-keepers who are made to lose nothing of their profits when *sen* are cheap. Therefore, for the present government there is no better plan than to have in circulation an abundance of *sen*, and exchangeable at a cheap rate.

In this dynasty *sen* have many times been coined since Kwanyei. But from ancient times until now *sen* have never been really abundant in Japan. The fifth and seventh years, when new *sen* were coined, were the times when they were plentiful with the people. But after the twentieth year they became scarce and were bought and sold at advanced prices. The reason of this is, first, that in times of fire coins are burned up and lost, and second, that among the common people, when the burial of a person takes place, under the name of "Six Road *Sen*" (六道錢), six *mon* of *sen* are placed in the coffin. Six *mon* is of course very little, but there is no knowing how many thousands and tens of thousands of persons die daily. If the *sen* put in the coffin are for an earth burial, they become earth, if for a fire burial, they become ashes. A third reason is that foolish persons ascend Fuji, Asama, Yudono and other mountains, and throw *sen* into the craters. Since those in charge of such mountains cannot get into the craters and recover the *sen*, they are of course utterly lost. And there is a fourth reason, namely,

that when images of Buddha and bells for temples are being cast, foolish men and women throw *sen* into the furnaces. Then, lately, as copper has become very dear and good copper scarce, and as the Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen* are made of the very best copper, there are those who collect the coins and cast Buddhist images with them, or such things as tea and other utensils. The above four roads for the destruction of *sen* are all well known to people generally. In addition to these, however, there are certain ways that are not ordinarily known or noticed. Up to the time when I was young, there were only Kwanyei and the Kwanbun *sen* to be had, but since the Genroku period bad *sen* have come to be used, and the old Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen* have gradually become scarce. If we take any hundred *sen* now in circulation and examine them carefully, the bad *sen* among them will be mostly those of the Genroku period; or any ten, and among these there will be only one or two of the old Kwanyei and Kwanbun *sen*, with fewer still of the old Yeiraku, or of any *sen* of a previous date. This is a proof of the disappearance of the *sen*. The State must make laws to prevent the disappearance of the *sen*. Now in China also, on funeral occasions, *sen* are buried, and when the gods (神) are worshiped, are burned, or in the case of the Water God, are cast into the water, and so forth. But in later times so-called paper *sen* have come into use, *sen* shaped and stamped like *sen* made of metal. I am strongly adverse to the disappearance of copper *sen*.

In these present times, in exchanging merchandise with foreign countries (China), a great deal of copper goes abroad. For this reason copper is very dear. Though the copper-producing mines in Japan are numerous, still on account of the cost of mine labour, the officials in charge do not mine deeply, and the quantity of copper produced is very small. It is not too little for the world's use, but the price is very high, and this makes the cost of coining new *sen* very great. Hence if the State wishes to coin *sen*, the officials are sure to prevent it by saying that copper is scarce. Anciently when

the *daimyo* Kawagoye, in the time of the government of Nobutsuna, broke up the copper Daibutsu of Kyoto, and coined Kwanbun *sen* out of the material thus obtained, he performed an excellent deed. The Kyoto Daibutsu was thereafter an image of wood instead of copper. The Southern Capital (Nanto) Daibutsu was not broken up at that time, and exists in its copper state to this day. Then again the Kamakura Daibutsu is of copper. In addition to these the number of copper images in Japan cannot be called small, there are many of the height of ten or twenty feet. During late years *Rokujizo* images (六地蔵) (the six images along the road side) have been cast in the Eastern Capital, and it is said that they are sixteen feet long. Now if the ancient images are thus useless things, to cast new and larger images is certainly a waste of copper and a harm to the State. Persons who do such things are called Wood Insects (蠹). Wood Insects eat trees. If there were in these times a nobleman like the *daimyo* Kawagoye, he would break up all the great images, beginning with that of the Southern Capital, in all the various places where they are to be found, and would turn them into copper *sen*. And if there were any copper left over, it would be applied to the uses of the State. And after this a severe prohibition would be issued, preventing the useless casting of even small images. Even large temples, except where they are especially famous, ought to be forbidden to cast great bells. In the case of small temples they might be allowed to hang small bells, but all the large bells should be broken up and coined into *sen* and the copper thus obtained made use of for other purposes. If this were done, copper would no longer be scarce, and as a consequence the State and the people would greatly profit. According to the tenets of Buddhism, it is not absolutely necessary that the images of Buddha, to have most virtue, should be made of copper; if they are carved out of wood, or moulded in clay, their virtues would be just the same. Therefore to throw away copper of which there is not enough for the uses of the State, the Army, and the people,

merely on images of Buddha truly betrays a lack of learning. Even now, if only this prohibiting order were to be issued, there would be an abundance of copper in Japan. Again, though copper is obtained from different mines, the officials in charge thereof count up the cost of labour and the necessary expenditure for cereals, and if there is not enough copper obtained to compensate for the same, they simply do not mine deeply. This again is a result of ignorance. The money of the State, if spent on cereals given to the people, is not spent uselessly, and if even a very small quantity of copper, iron etc., is obtained, it can be applied to the uses of the State. Then again, there is the pleasure of helping poor people by using them in this connection, as during this time they can obtain food and be free from sorrow. This too is a gain to the people. Therefore the expenditure of the State ought to be faced without fear, and what ought to be mined should be, and the work of getting the entire wealth and power of the soil out of it unhesitatingly taken up. But the decision to do this can be reached only by men who have great powers of observation and calculation.

In ancient times gold was obtained from the mountains of Oshiu, but now there is none coming from thence. During the Keicho period (1596-1614) gold came from the Sado mines and it was abundant in Japan. But it gradually grew less and less, and is now said to have decreased very greatly indeed. Generally the things which come from the earth are produced by nature with a view to meeting the various needs of man; so, if a certain mine is deficient in its supply to this end, there will be some other mine producing the required quantity. This is the doctrine of dark and light, and of increase and decrease, and is one of the great fixed laws of nature. In Japan, therefore, at the present time, there must be in different places mountains which produce gold, silver etc., and if the mines which they must certainly contain are searched for, and, when found, are worked without concern for the cost of the labour involved, the output of gold will be

of such an abundance that there will be no need to issue a debased currency such as that of the Genroku period. But there is a decided art in all this. Let me speak of one variety of it. The mountain of Kimpo, in Washiu, is said to produce gold. This its name would suggest. But the God of the mountain begrudges man the gold, and will not give it to him. It is said that the God will be sure to punish anyone who attempts to work mines in this mountain. This, however, is merely the vulgar talk of the natives round about, and of the priests and priestesses of the mountain. The foolish people, believing this obsurd report, circulate it freely. Most of the officials of the State are ignorant, not clever like the *daimyo* Kawagoye, and when they hear this talk of the vulgar, they think it must be true, and are consequently afraid. Should there be a profit-loving fellow among them, who through his greed would make trial of mining the mountain, he would surely retire from the attempt through fear of receiving evil at the hands of the God, and the common people, on hearing and seeing the experience, would surely be made afraid, and there would be none who would dare to say anything further. Kimpozan, Kongozan and Arimazan are all mountains of this nature, and and there are no doubt many others.

Is it not sorrowful that that which would be of profitable use to the people is left hidden away, wastefully, so to speak, in the ground? To say then, as above, that there is art in all this matter means simply that there is a way. Heaven and earth produce all things for the nourishment of man. The Gods are clever and honest beings. So, if man reverences the Gods and worships them with the use of the proper rites, they will ensure him good fortune. Should man approach the Gods rudely, however, he will surely receive evil from them. Generally speaking, there are Gods residing in all mountains and rivers, and if there is a desire to obtain the treasures which are produced in these places, then important rites, as arranged by the Emperor, must be made use of for the worship of the Gods, and proper prayers be made for obtaining

the things wanted. As the Gods do not talk, it is impossible to hold conversations with them. They must be inquired of through divination. If then a God is pleased with the worship addressed to him, and the divination results favourably, this means that the God gives the desired permission. If the divination is unfavourable, then permission is not granted. After the God has given the permission, there is no danger of any kind, and no evil from the Gods will be encountered. If one will follow this rule, there will be no difficulty in entering into any God-mountain with mining operations. Thus by reverencing a God as a God the hearts of the people are freed from fear. Even now should an Imperial messenger be sent somewhere and the God of the place be worshiped with appropriate rites, then the matter would be decided for or against, according to the signs of divination. If the God's permission to extract the mountain's contents is obtained, then not only Mt. Kimpo, but any other mountain, could be entered. The Classics say, "Under the universal heavens there is no ground which does not belong to the King". It is said that the Emperor is lord over Gods and men. If the lord of the country makes request on behalf of the State, using appropriate rites, how can the Mountain and River Gods begrudge him their treasures? It is only because men try by rude and improper methods to steal away these treasures that they not only do not get them, but receive punishment from the Gods besides.

In China, as copper money was scarce, paper certificates were issued in place of it, and a great many of them were used. They were called Treasure Bonds (寶鈔). Anciently in our country such things did not exist; but in the Genroku period, as there was not enough metallic currency for the needs of the provinces of the *daimyo*, treasure bonds were made, each kind for use only in the province of issue. The common people of those times called them *silver tickets* (銀札), and the use of them was called *tsukai*. These bonds in appearance were two *sun* (2½ inches) or three *sun* (3¾

inches) wide and about one foot long. When put into a parcel or the pocket, since they were enclosed between boards, they were much more inconvenient to carry than *koban* etc.; or, in cases of fire, they would get burnt, or, if they fell into water, would get wet, or they would be eaten by rats, or get soiled, or wrinkled, or chafed. If they were damaged even a little, the value would fall; and so altogether there was no limit to the loss the people might suffer on account of them. In China, from ancient times, the use of paper money has never been considered a sign of good government. Though the government might profit, the common people invariably suffered. In the time of Bumbyo, strict orders were issued, and the use of paper money in the different provinces was prohibited; and though the people who possessed the paper lost their treasure at once through its abolition as money, and were caused much inconvenience and suffering, they were nevertheless glad to have the harm it occasioned, and which had lasted so long, removed. This was good government. Generally when the State is short of money for meeting its needs, those subjects who can manage to profit thereby make many wicked suggestions to the government. This in fact is most common. Among these suggestions that of making paper money is one, and since to do this is very bad government, it is a thing to be stoutly resisted. During the government of the Kan dynasty there existed a thing that was called *heijun* (平準). Now *heijun* is an instrument used with water, with which to prove that things are level. It is what the vulgar of to day call a water-level (*midzumori*). But *heijun* as applied to finance was a term used when different kinds of merchandize were neither dear nor cheap, but simply averaged. Duke Taishi, in the volume of his *History* called *Heijun*, has written about this matter. Generally the common people are skilful at getting profit. In the Rongo, where Confucius says, "The lower classes have perceptions for profit", he is referring to this fact. Morning and evening they think only of profit. Therefore,

in the direction of profit they develop extraordinary cleverness. The different kinds of merchandise come from the people. If the prices of merchandise are high, this means profit for the people and loss for the gentry. If prices are low, then profit accrues to the gentry and loss to the people. But although this is so, merchandise comes from the people, and the gentry buy it to supply their needs. Therefore, even though the prices are high, the gentry must buy, buy clothing, drink, food and other necessary household things, and the artisans, merchants and shop-keepers, knowing this, usually see that the prices are high. The government from time to time issues orders prohibiting the making of high prices, but all the same those who sell will not sell cheap. Unless they buy at high prices, the gentry cannot supply their needs; and so they buy, even though they know that the prices are high. The merchants and shop-keepers are said to lust after profits. For instance, *sake* is made from rice and water. When rice is dear, *sake* is dear, too; but when rice is cheap, *sake* ought to be cheap. When rice becomes suddenly dear, the price of *sake* also becomes suddenly dear. When rice is cheap, they say the *sake* was made when rice was dear, and so do not reduce its price. All merchandise is managed in this way. By making all kinds of excuses they raise prices, and when these are once up, they do not readily come down again. Then, too, each kind of merchandise has its *Koka* (行家). *Koka* is what is now called a broker, *Toya* (問屋). The *koka* are sure to have guilds (黨). Guilds are *Nakama* (仲間). First in Yeddo, Kyoto, and Osaka, and then in other places, the *koka* are, as we know very well, bound together in guilds. They exist for everything. When anything happens to the State, and prices ought in consequence to be raised by the *koka*, post messengers are sent out and notice given to the guilds, and the *koka* take advantage of the State's sudden needs, and raise prices accordingly; or, foreseeing that there is likely to be a scarcity, powerful brokers possess themselves

of all the merchandise, and then suddenly raise prices. Though the four seas (Japan) are wide, the reason why the merchants appear to hold all business in the palms of their hands and do with it as they like, is this banding together in guilds, and the going and coming of these post messengers. The government may issue severe orders and enact penal laws to make people fear, but nothing can be done. Again, when merchant-ships are on their way to the Eastern Capital, they are detained at sea to make things appear scarce, and thus the prices are raised. The State, hearing of this, orders officials to cruise the seas and drive in the merchant-ships that are stopping outside; when, to counteract this, the merchants bribe the officials and pray for a short respite. The knavishness of the common people is such, as regards profits, that no amount of cleverness on the government's part can counteract it. These men are under the power of the thing called profit (*Riken* 利權). To do as one likes with the profits residing in things, this is the handle of power (權柄). The men who govern well are those who take the power of profit for the government, and do not allow it to remain in the hands of the common people. This art is not possible for ordinary people. Even the scholars of the Economical World of the present day *Shushi* (末子), or even the literary gentry, do not know this, only those know it who have learned the political economy of the moderns and the ancients. In the Kan dynasty such men as Tojun, Kamjo, Soko and Yobokushuki etc. were all originally shop-keepers, and were chosen by the Emperor and advanced to high rank. They were placed in the ranks of the *Kukyo* (九卿) and were given profit power in the country, because they knew well that which was not known by the ordinary gentry. And although at that time they carried out various matters whereby profit was made to accrue to the State, having been originally shop-keepers, they were conversant only with matters of profit, and knew nothing about the teachings of Righteousness and true Cleverness. Not understanding the great and funda-

mental laws of State government, all they did resulted later on in much harm to the State; but the one law of averages (*keijun*) which they carried out, that was good government, and even now it is practiced to advantage. Officials are stationed by government at the places from which goods originally come, and they, seeing whether there is much or little merchandise there and whether the prices are dear or cheap, send the merchandise thence to the cities. That is to say, when things are cheap the government receives and buys, but when dear it gives out and sells. By this means rich merchants and large shop-keepers are prevented from selfishly obtaining abnormally large profits. This is the law of averages. The law of averages is the law by which to remedy high and low prices. Generally, if the governing classes are fond of profit, and compete with the people to obtain it, it happens surely that the people will succeed in seizing the profit and the State will suffer. This is because the gentry and lords cannot attain to the cleverness of the people in profit-getting. If they enter into competition to this end, they are sure to lose. Should the government act, however, without thought either of profits or losses, the profit-power which is in the hands of the people would come back to the government. That is to say, the law of averages means that the government must lose a little. To try and stop the acquisition of profit by the people without loss to the government is unlearned and unscientific. The profit will be seized by the knavish people in the time it takes to turn round on the heel. Of the four kinds of people none are so clever at profit-getting as the merchants and shop-keepers. Therefore in peaceful and in rebellious times, in abundant years and years of dearth and scarcity, whether other people gain or lose, the merchant and shop-keeper is sure to get his profit always. This fact the people who govern a State must take carefully into account, and must seek to fathom the hearts of the merchants and shop-keepers and carry out the law of averages, taking care to

get the power into the government's own hands, so that the rich merchants and great shop-keepers shall not seize the profits altogether.

The Japanese currency of the present day is of all three kinds, gold and silver and copper *sen*. To the west of Kyoto the inclination is to have silver; while that of the eastern provinces is for gold. But copper *sen* are current east and west. As the west inclines to silver, of the three kinds of currency, silver is there the chief, and the prices of gold and of *sen* go up and down in terms of silver. One gold *ryo* equals so much silver, and one *kwan* of *sen* is bought and sold for so much silver. But in buying or selling any kinds of merchandise prices are settled in silver. For instance, one *koku* of rice is valued at so much in silver, and likewise also a piece of silk or linen. Or, for a silver *sen* so much of other merchandise is sold. Even if an article should be bought and paid for in gold, or *sen*, the price would first be arranged in silver, and then the proper amount paid for it in gold or *sen*. The people of the west generally like silver and dislike gold *sen*. To them the value of gold and *sen* seems to vary with time; while they regard silver as always having one and the same value, and say that one silver *sen* is always one *sen*. For this reason the savings of the wealthy are always calculated in silver. They think that there is no increase or decrease in the value of silver. As the people of the eastern provinces, on the other hand, incline to gold, they make gold the chief of the three currencies, and make the value of silver and *sen* to vary. So much silver is bought or sold for a gold *ryo*, and the prices of all kinds of merchandise are settled in gold. For instance, one gold *ryo* represents so many *koku* of rice, or so many pieces of silk or linen; or so much of other merchandise exchanges for one gold *bu* or one hundred *mon* of *sen*. Should things be bought with silver, the price would first be named in terms of gold, and as much silver would be paid out as was equal to the gold sum fixed upon. Generally

the people of the east like gold and dislike silver. In their minds the price of silver varies with time; whereas gold when saved neither increases in value nor decreases. They think one *ryo* is always one *ryo*. For this reason the savings of the wealthy there are all calculated in gold. There are some people in the east who accumulate silver, and some in the west who accumulate gold, but in each case not really for purposes of personal saving, but for effect on the value of the metal possessed. Those who do this are mostly people with exchange-shops. The reason the people of the east and west either value or make light of, as the case may be, either gold or silver, is as stated above, that is, they like or else dislike the one or the other. The real fact is that the three currencies all vary in value with time, and that there is no really settled value for any one of them. People are deceived by the question as to which metal is host and which guest in each separate case. The one regarded as host is thought of as the one with the fixed price. But east is east, and west is west, and the currency value is according to the mind of the man of the particular locality; and the circulation of the currency is likewise affected. Thus there is really neither profit nor loss. But in arguing about the principles of profit and loss for the gentry and people, we must give silver the chief place as a currency of convenience, and must regard gold as relatively inconvenient. In the eastern provinces the prices of all kinds of merchandise are settled in gold, for one gold *ryo* there being so much of an article, and for one gold *bu* so much; so when buying things worth more than one gold *bu* the gold price is always the same. Therefore there is no loss or gain to buyer or seller. If things are bought of less value than a gold *bu*, inasmuch as the prices of these have to be in *sen*, they are reckoned at so many hundred *mon*, or so many tens of *mon*. The purchases and sales of most articles having fixed prices are at 100 *mon* or 10 *mon* amounts; so when *sen* are dear, it is to the profit of the seller and to the loss of the buyer, and when *sen*

are cheap, it is conversely to the disadvantage of the seller and to the gain of the buyer. Things are generally sold by merchants and shop-keepers, and bought by the gentry. It is very seldom that the needy gentry buy things with gold. They buy *sen* with gold and then buy things with *sen*. But things are bought and sold with *sen*, and even when *sen* are cheap, the things sold for one hundred *mon* are always sold for that amount; and so when *sen* are dear, this means much loss to the gentry. The gentry, and others also below the *daimyo*, do not always refuse to use *sen*. For this reason those merchant fellows and shop-keepers of the east profit by dear *sen*, and even if the government should issue a strict order to make *sen* cheap, it would still for this reason become dear again after a while. Such are the evil effects of making gold the standard. In the western provinces, as all merchandise is bought and sold with silver, the price of anything worth more than five *rin* (厘) is sure to be fixed in silver; and as the changing of the price to gold or *sen* is left to the the individual, one gold *ryo* or one gold *bu* is counted as equal to so much silver. When gold is cheap, then one *ryo* is rated at fifty *sen* in silver, and when it is dear, a *ryo* may run as high as sixty *sen* in silver, or even higher. In the case of *sen*, one silver *sen* may be counted in *mon sen* as equal to eighty *mon*. As regulated by the price of the *mon* at the time, whether cheap or dear, it is used as against silver. The reason that things which do not exceed five silver *rin* in value are bought and sold for from one *sen mon* to three or four *mon* is because of the dearness or cheapness of *sen*, and though there may be profit or loss in such transactions, it is only a very small matter. Things worth over five *rin* and one *fun* have their prices fixed in silver, but if in *sen*, then enough is paid out to match the silver rate. When *sen* are cheap, then for one silver *sen* eighty *mon* are paid. When *sen* are dear, then for one silver *sen* even forty *mon* in *sen* may be paid. Thus whether the price of *sen* is high or low, there is not the slightest profit or loss for the gentry and people. In

the eastern provinces if *sen* are cheap, the gentry rejoice; if they are dear, the gentry are troubled. In the western provinces, whether they be dear or cheap, unless there is some sudden cause for great profit or loss, there is neither joy nor sorrow. This is the advantage of making silver the standard. Therefore, even if now the customs of the eastern provinces were to be changed, and silver be made the standard of exchange, as it is in the western provinces, there would be no profit or loss, whether *sen* be high or low, and this would be to the advantage of the gentry. Although this is so, there is possibly not enough silver for the needs of both east and west, so that it would be difficult to make the change immediately. Again, even if silver cannot at first be used throughout, as it is in the western provinces, the prices of all merchandise might be settled in silver, and things be bought and sold for so many *sen* and *fun*. If *sen* were used instead of silver, it would be in the same way that the people of the west use them, and thus the gold of the gentry could be used to buy *sen*, and those people using *sen* to buy things would not lose by reason of *sen* being dear. There is no difficulty in carrying out this plan. The government should issue an ordinance requiring the change to be made within six months or a year. Of late the customs of the eastern provinces have been changing very much, and many people can be seen to have adopted the customs that prevail in Kyoto and Osaka. To change the customs of the people is the work of the government and is not such a difficult matter.

The kings are the lords of the earth and never pay out gold and silver to satisfy their wants. All kinds of merchandise are given them as tribute from the different provinces of Japan, and the things needed are never scarce. In Japanese this is what is called *mitsugimono*. With regard to the different kinds of furniture used, there was a place built in the capital, near the king's castle, called a *kyoku* (局). We may suppose a hundred artisans called to this place and set to work. A *kyoku* is what is now known as a work place (細工所). The

100 artisans called would be of different kinds. When summoned they would be given daily their morning and evening meals, called *kirin* (餼廩, rice allowance). In the *kyoku* there were different kinds of officials employed as overseers. As regards the artisans, the number called was large or small, according to whether the matter was of large or of small importance. The government found the material for the work, and only gave out in addition the rice allowance, it did not give any wages (賃錢). The 100 artisans were simply men requisitioned for the master's use, and their duty as towards him, was simply to do the assigned work, and there was no reason for their being paid wages. If need arose for wood or earthwork labour, men would be called upon from among the people for this purpose also and in the same way. No matter how many thousands or tens of thousands of men were made use of, they would be given only their morning and evening meals and not paid wages at all. They were mere labourers (役夫), and nothing more. In China this custom has prevailed from ancient times until now. In Japan it existed in the Kuge period. The lords of the earth of course followed it, and the feudal princes made the same use of the people in their own individual provinces. Things being as stated above, when the government inclined to frugality, then there would be peace within the seas, and the four classes of people would not suffer; whereas should the government be like that of the Emperor Bu, of the Kan Dynasty, or the Emperor Yo, of the Da (581–618) dynasty, and fond of extravagance and steeped in pleasures, then it would run short of supplies, and tribute would be forced, and the four classes of the people within the seas would suffer, and the hundred kinds of artisans would be called out and forced labour employed beyond the usual extent, so that the four classes would be exhausted and the State seriously endangered. Herein lies the danger of rebellion. This is the reason that from ancient times warnings against extravagance have been made from time to time, and that the leanings towards economy of the Emperor Bun,

of the Kan Dynasty, caused him to be praised as a wise ruler. In the present times there is no such thing as tribute. The government pays out gold and silver, and the different kinds of merchandise are bought therewith from the merchants, and the hundred kinds of artisans are not summoned to the *kyoku*; but artisans of all kinds are employed and are paid in gold and silver, or the furniture needed is made in the homes of the artisans and money paid for the same. For earthworks and for building of any kind, labour is not called out, but labourers are employed and are paid daily wages. Therefore, as all of the different wants are thus met, and as payments are made in gold and silver, if the governing classes incline to extravagance and frequently start large building operations, the merchants are glad to sell their goods and receive gold and silver for them, and the hundred classes of artisans sell their workmanship, and are pleased to obtain profits therefrom, and the labourers for hire in the city are glad to receive daily pay. Wherever the governing classes are fond of pleasure, gold and silver flow to the people, and the extravagance of the governing classes means an abundance for the people. For this reason the people of to-day pray for extravagance on the part of the government. Should the government be fond of economy, however, gold and silver would be saved by it, but the artisans, shopkeepers and all the small people below them, such as labourers, not getting any profit, would come on the contrary to suffering. Here lies the difference between the present government and that of the ancients. Changes as above have taken place all unnoticed, and it comes to this that if the ancient ways were to be tried now, it would be like sticking on the post (the bridge of a harp) with glue. This is just the same as what I said before of cheap rice, that it means a peaceful world; which is like saying it as the same as the way of the ancients. But unless a person knows when to apply the ancient and when to apply modern methods, it will be difficult for him to carry on good government.

Frugality (儉約) is the teaching of the Sages. For the character *ken* (儉) there is no Japanese equivalent. In the language of to-day it means temperance (*uchi wa*) in all things. The character *yaku* (約) means thrift (*tsuzumayaka*). This is what is meant in the tongue of the vulgar by *tsumashiku*. The teachings of frugality are combined in the two characters *setsuyo* (節用). *Setsu* is the knot of the bamboo. The knots of the bamboo are things with limits. It means that all expenses should have a settled limit, up to which they may go and which may not be exceeded. Expenses mean outlay (*irime*) for everything needed, that is, the expenditure of gold, silver, rice, cereals and merchandise. The Kagi of Kan (China) says that "the basis of frugality is Reduction (*Shoji*, 省事)". *Shoji* is to take away a thing. *Habuku* (省) is to make less (少). The fact that the *daimyo* and gentry are yearly becoming poorer is owing to many things. In rebellious times and in a country at war it is easy for both the upper and lower classes to accomplish all their undertakings. Easy (簡易) means without difficulty, without trouble. The character *kan* (簡) has the opposite meaning to *kan* (煩), trouble. *I* (易) has the opposite meaning to *nan* (難), difficult. *Han* (煩) means troublesome. *Nan* (難) means difficult. *I* (日) means easy. In a rebellious age and in a country at war the upper and lower classes are always in a state of hurry, and all things are curtailed and done in a stingy way and without any care being taken. Everyone does things easily. But in times of peace and leisure, great pains are taken in all things, and in all matters of etiquette from corner to corner care is taken to leave nothing omitted or undone. Because of this, in a time of peace the longer it exists attention to details gradually increases. For instance, in ancient times a thing which would be finished at once and once for all is now considered finished only after it has been done over two or three times. In ancient times business that was transacted by word of mouth is now done on paper and by order. Then what was ordinarily settled by the word of one man is now

done upon a conventional basis after the whole world has been consulted, such that not even one man of the entire number concerned might rightly be omitted from the consultation. Thus every day matters increase in number, and, if matters are many, officials are many. And contrariwise, if officials are many, then surely matters will be many. If peace lasts a long time, then gradually things become many and the people without noticing it drift along, until finally, if it is desired to reduce the number of things, they are found to be beyond the possibility of reduction. To reduce things is to reduce things difficult to reduce and stop things difficult to stop, even though a resolute and determined mind is brought to bear upon them. It is difficult to do this, unless the person attempting it is illustrious and strong. In the ancient Koto, where the words, "When considering a thing and it is done easily" occur, the refrence is to this fact. A person in the government, who knows how to reduce things, looks carefully into State matters once every two, three, four, five or ten years, and if he finds that things have increased beyond what they were formerly, he endeavors to check and reduce them, so as to make their number less; but if this is neglected, things will gradually increase. In the warnings left by the great ancestor, Koshoku, of Shu, there is the following sentence: "Do not undertake many things. To undertake many things results in sorrow." This is a most important saying, and all persons in control of the State ought to take note of it. Again, what is now called frugality is to have a number of small officials who inquire into all sorts of small matters and take care that there is no waste. But even if small matters are minutely examined into, the total amount saved thereby is trifling. To carry out large matters carelessly and then to examine into small matters is folly. Moreover, the small officials are sure to steal the property of the government. Even amongst the gentry and those above them, the pure and upright are few. Therefore much more will the small officials, if their salaries are small, steal government property to

support their wives and children with, and thus make their way in the world. If they are prevented from stealing this thing, then they will steal that thing. If they are limited on the left hand, they will steal on the right. The saying that while the guardian may have no opportunity nevertheless the thief has, is almost a proverb. Therefore Confucius said, "The sages did not use up all the profit, but some was left for the people." The meaning of this is that the government did not take all the profit, as a little was left for the people to take. Just as in the vulgar proverb it is said that "That which falls down and runs over is the property of the priests." And inasmuch as in the houses of those who receive small salaries, the servants of each, in accordance with each house's individual standing, pick up and keep as their own the little that runs over and falls down, how much more does it differ from the human teachings of the sages when the *daimyo* and lords of the country try to prevent this falling down and running over. The officials of these times make the mistake of thinking that anything which runs over and falls down is thrown away and wasted. It is not thrown away. It really constitutes the riches of the lower classes. Therefore, if those in charge of the finances of the State could allow of a little running over and falling down in the budget, the person who would allow the small officials to steal this overflow would be a clever man. The person who is as careful of the property of his lord as if it were his own is truly a loyal retainer, but from ancient times loyal retainers have been very few. At present a loyal retainer is occasionally to be found, but he is so full of his own honesty that he thinks himself much more honest than other people, and accidents occur which frequently make his honesty a virtual misfortune to the State. It is on this wise and for this reason that a loyal retainer becomes and is a really disloyal one. The saying

"If water is very pure there are no fish," and "If a person is too prying he has no friends," are known to be true through the teaching of the ancient sages.

In the time of Confucius, Koseika went as a messenger to the country of Sei, and Senyu asked Confucius for rice in the husk to be given for the maintenance of Koseika's mother. Confucius said to give her a *fu* (鍾) of rice. A *fu* is six *to* and four *sho*. Senyu thought this was too little, and asked for some increase. So Confucius said, "Give her a *yu* (庾)." A *yu* is one *koku* and six *to*, just one and a half times as much as a *fu*. Senyu still thinking this too little, gave what he thought to be right, which was five *ye* (秉). A *ye* is sixteen *koku*, so that five *ye* would be eighty *koku*. When Confucius was told of this, he said, "Koseika is a rich man. When he went to Sei he rode a fat horse and wore a light overcoat. I hear that the sages in dealing with a poor man are not mean but generous, but with a rich man they do not add to his riches." He accused Senyu, in giving five *ye* to Seki, of piling riches upon riches. To pile riches upon riches is what the low people call, in a proverb, "painting a rich man's shin with sauce". At this time there is a great deal of this kind of thing being done. The present times are considerate of the rich and noble, but fail to help the poor; on the the contrary, they put them far away and give in excess to the rich who lack for nothing. Confucius, in giving a very little to the mother of Ka, did not act thus through avarice. Had Ka been poor, Confucius would have given the rice without any request from Senyu. He decided that since Ka was a rich man and was going to Sei with a fat horse and a light overcoat, it was not right for him to have to feed Ka's mother. He did not refuse Senyu's plea, however, or go against his wishes, but, thinking to give only a little, said to give one *fu*, and when Senyu thought this was not enough and asked for the increase, he gave a little more than the *fu*, namely, a *ye*. It was Confucius' intention that a rich man's shin should not be painted with sauce. This is the teaching of the sages. Senyu had not attained to this

teaching. Not understanding Confucius' thought, he made a great mistake in giving five *ye* and strayed from the teachings of the sages; therefore Confucius said what he did in order to make his intention clear.

Mr. Lloyd rose to ask a question: Were there in Japan in Dazai's times local mints in the various daimyates, or was there one Imperial mint for the whole country? A singular coincidence had come to his mind while listening to the very interesting paper Mr. Kirby had given them. Whilst Dazai was inveighing against the deterioration of the coinage in Japan, Dean Swift in England and Ireland was doing the same thing. Indeed, the Irish coinage of Swift's time would have merited all Dazai's invectives. With regard to the ways and means of persuading the gods of the mountains to permit mining, as advocated by Dazai, he could give a modern illustration. A couple of years ago, a well-known resident of Tokyo wanted to fill up an old well, a procedure to which his servants objected on the score of not wishing to offend the god that lived there. Application was therefore made to a wise priest, who bade the gentleman go to the well and say in a loud voice: "This is not a well." The god, he said, would hear the remark and would go away, and then the well might be filled up.

FORMATIVE ELEMENTS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.

LECTURE I.

MANICHAEISM AND KOBO.

LECTURE II.

DARUMA AND THE BUDDHIST CANON.

LECTURE III.

TENDAI AND SHINSHIU.

LECTURE IV.

NICHIREN AND HOKEKYO.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN: GENERAL MEETINGS.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Nov. 13 at 4 p.m. The Vice-President, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Mr. J. E. De Becker, of Yokohama, and Mr. F. E. Bray, of the Higher Commercial School, Tokyo. He also announced that the date of Prof. Lloyd's fourth lecture in the series on "The Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhist" should be changed from Dec. 4 to Dec, 11. Prof. Lloyd then delivered his first lecture of that series, on the special topic of "Manichaeism and Kobo."

At the close of the lecture, Rev. C. F. Sweet inquired of the lecturer whether any of the underlying principles of the Shingon Sect of Buddhism corresponded with the underlying principles of Manichaeism. For instance, the Manichaeans believed that all matter is essentially evil; and when they administered the rite of baptism, refrained from the use of water, because it is a material substance.

Prof. Lloyd replied that Shingon was essentially pessimistic and renounced materialism. The priests carefully abstained from participation in political affairs and scrupulously observed celibacy and abstention from the use of meats. Shingon, however, did have a rite of baptism, which Kobo Daishi is said to have received and in which water was used by effusion.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms at No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Nov. 20, at 4 p.m. In the absence of both the President and the Vice-President, Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read. Prof. Lloyd then delivered his second lecture in the course on "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism" on the special subject of "Daruma and the Canon."

At the close of the lecture, the Chairman remarked that the Society owed the lecturer a great debt for all the trouble he had taken in preparing this resume of Buddhism. He also announced the next lecture, the third, for Wednesday 27th inst. on "Tendai and Shinshiu."

A General meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, Nov. 27. In the absence of the President, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Chairman called the attention of the audience to the fact that the next and final lecture of this series on "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism" would be given, not on Dec. 4, as originally advertised, but on Wednesday, Dec. 11, at 4 p.m. Prof. Lloyd then delivered his lecture on "Tendai and Shinshiu."

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms at No. 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Dec. 11, 1907. Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, the Vice-President for Tokyo, presided. The Minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. Prof. Arthur Lloyd delivered his lecture on "Nichiren and the Hokekyo."

LECTURE I.

MANICHAEISM AND KŌBŌ.

In trying to make for myself a thoroughgoing investigation of Buddhism as we find it to-day in Japan, I have naturally begun with the Life of the Founder, whose history I have studied mainly in accordance with Japanese writers. It is a very long life, for Sakyamuni's ministerial activity continued for over forty-five years, a space of time in which there was much room for spiritual growth and expansion, not only in the mind of the Founder himself, but still more so in the spiritual capacities of his principal followers, who were in close attendance on him during so long a period of spiritually eventful years.

I have parted company with Japanese authors on the subject of chronology, for I find it impossible to accept B.C. 1027, as the date of Buddha's birth. All modern scholars place his birth about the year 550 B.C. and with these conclusions I agree.[1]

1. I believe that the discrepancy in the dates assigned by Western and Chinese scholars (whom the Japanese have followed) to the Nativity of the Tathāgata is owing to a mistaken computation by which the periods between the half-yearly retreats of Sakyamuni and his successors to monasteries, for rest and refreshment, have been reckoned as full years. There are only two dates in ancient Buddhist history about which we can speak with anything like certainty, viz. Alexander's Invasion, and the Mission from China asking for instruction, in A.D. 67. We know however that a little before the latter date, in the reign of King Kanishka, the greatest of the Scythian rulers of N.W. India, Afghanistan, etc., a great Buddhist Council was held at which among other things the Abhidharma Commentaries were settled. It is possible that the date of Sakyamuni's birth was

Modern research gives the year B.C. 481 as the probable date of Sakyamuni's death, and if we take the duration of his ministry to have been about fifty years, we must place His Enlightenment about the year B.C. 530, or perhaps a few years later. The seventy years of captivity of the Jews in Babylon were just over, and the decree of Cyrus for the return of the Exiles to their own land had just been issued. The prophet Haggai was telling the world through the Jews that God was about to "shake the nations," and bidding them look forward with hope to the coming of the "Desire of all nations."[1]

A few years later, the "shaking of the nations" commenced: the battle of Salamis was fought the year after

settled at that Council, and in that case the error of calculating half-years as years for the earlier periods of Buddhist chronology, say before the coming Alexander, would just about explain the discrepancy between B.C. 1027 and B.C. 550.

1. The following dates, though familiar to most European readers, are here given by way of refreshers to the memory. Should this book be fortunate enough to attract Japanese readers unfamiliar with the History of the Bible, they will be glad to have the data. They have been taken from the chronological tables at the end of the International Teachers' Bible.

B.C. 598. First year of the Captivity. Jehoiachin and 10,000 Jews (Ezekiel amongst them) deported to Babylon.
587. Destruction of Jerusalem.—further deportations.
550. Birth of Sakyamuni.
538. Destruction of Babylon and establishment of Persian Empire.
537. Cyrus issues an edict for the restoration of the Jews. The rebuilding of the Temple commenced, but delayed.
525. (?) Enlightenment of Sakyamuni.
521. Darius Hystaspis confirms and renews the edict of Cyrus, and extends Persian frontiers into India.
520. Prophetic activity of Haggai and Zechariah.
513. Scythian expedition of Darius.
500. Revolt of Ionian Greeks.
490. Battle of Marathon.
481. Death of Sakyamuni.
480. Battle of Salamis.
433. Hebrew Prophets close with Malachi.
431. Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, and the so-called Age of Pericles.

The quotation from Haggai will be found in chap. ii. 6.

Sakyamuni died: fifty years later, the long list to Hebrew prophets closed with Malachi; the Age of Pericles witnessed the early triumphs of Greek Culture and Philosophy, and the History of the Buddhist Church, so intensely important to the whole of Asia, had begun. We cannot treat Buddhism as an isolated movement. We must take it in connection with other movements in other parts of the world. It was one of the results of the great "shaking" which was to prepare the way for the coming of the "Desire of all Nations."

Next I turned to the history of the Development of Buddhism in India. Under the great King As'oka,[1] in B.C. 240, it became more than Indian. Buddhist missionaries went abroad after King As'oka's Council to preach their peaceful religion, East and West, as far as Burma and Java, as far as Babylon, Asia Minor, Egypt and Greece. China, consolidated into one Empire under the earlier Hans,[2] was being prepared,

1. *As'oka.*—I take the following from Dr. Murakami's useful little Handbook of Japanese Buddhism:—

Date about one hundred years after the Nirvana. Youngest grandson of Bimbisara, King of Magadha: and afterwards himself King of that country. Being very ill-favoured as an infant, he was sent away from home by his father, and kept at a distance: but chancing to hear of his father's dangerous illness some years later, he returned home suddenly, murdered his elder brother the Crown Prince, and seized upon the throne for himself, making the position secure for himself by the execution of 500 men who had opposed him, and of 500 women who had ridiculed his ugliness. For some time after his accession, his conduct was very bad, and he received from his subjects the opprobrious nickname of *Kala-As'oka*, the bad As'oka: but being converted to Buddhism by the words of a *bhikshu*, who for some crime had been thrown into one of the royal prisons, he became a great patron of religion and earned the more honourable title of *Dharma-As'oka* or the good As'oka. It was in As'oka's reign that the Council of Pataliputra was held, and that Buddhist Missionaries were sent out to preach in all lands.

2. *Han Dynasty* B.C. 206—A.D. 221. divided into (i) *Zen Kan* (Earlier Hans) whose capital was *Chō-an* (Changnan) in the West, B.C. 206 to A.D. 25. and (ii) *Gokan* (Later Hans) whose capital was *Rakuyō* (Loh-yang) in the East. A.D. 25—221. The later name of Changnan was Singanfu

The Han period may be described as the Golden Age of Chinese History. The period of literature, culture, and military glory: a unified Empire and extended borders. China Parthia, and Rome, divided the world among them

as it were, to receive the doctrines of Shaka, and the whole East felt the renovating influence of the early Buddhism.

Alexander's conquests, which I took up next, were of short duration, but North Western India remained from that time forward under foreign domination. Greeks, Bactrians, Parthians, Scythians, each in turn bore rule in Punjaub and the Indus valley. Further East, there remained the native Indian principalities, and no conqueror seems to have gained a permanent hold on the secluded valleys of Kashmir. Foreign conquest seems to have finally effected the division of Buddhism into Hînayâna and Mahâyâna. Wherever Buddhism remained purely Indian, it remained Hînayâna: wherever it came under foreign influences it expanded and developed, sometimes in a philosophical, sometimes in a pietistic, direction, by the absorption of foreign ideas and the adoption of foreign religious conceptions. Thus the two-fold tendency of Buddhism, which seems to have existed from the very earliest days, gradually became accentuated and the way was paved for the ultimate Great Schism of Buddhism.[1]

After As'oka's time, the Hînayâna, divided into many sects, gradually lost its influence, till it faded under the miseries and oppressions of what are sometimes called the "Bad Kings from the North."[2] The last dynasty of foreign con-

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in the 1st Century A.D., though the ambitious Scythian Kingdom was trying hard to wrest the power from Parthia. Indeed, for a short time, it succeeded in doing so.

1. Great Schism, i.e. into Hinayâna and Mahâyâna, each with many divisions.

2. *Bad Kings from the North.* Europe was not the only part of the world that suffered from distress and trouble at this period. Asia had its bad rulers just as Rome had, and to mention but one instance of a calamity rivalling the destruction of Pompeii, I may cite an article in the *Bulletin de la Société de Geographie* (3e Trimestre 1892) in which it is stated that about the beginning of the Christian era, the Oxus river suddenly changed its bed, and made for itself a course which brought its mouth to the South end of the Caspian Sea, thereby changing the whole aspect of the Central Plateau of Asia, and doing away with a large lake which had apparently existed

querors were, however, converted to the Buddhist faith, and their great King Kanishka, whom we may place somewhere in the middle of the 1st Century A.D., may claim to have been the "second Constantine" of Buddhism. With Kanishka's time begins the definite existence of the Mahâyâna which had for some time been forming.

With Kanishka commences the series of great Teachers to whom the Mahâyâna owes so much,—As'vaghosha, of whom I have seen the statement in *a* Japanese Buddhist Book[1] that "Buddha appeared again in the flesh during his life-time" (1st century A.D.) Nâgârjuna Deva, Asangha, Vasubhandhu, and the rest,—all be it noticed, worshippers of Amitâbha. All these men seem to have had the feeling that the "Desire of Nations," of whom the Hebrew prophet had spoken, had now come. The name and special title of honour given to the

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before then, and which received the waters of the Jaxartes and other streams which now lose themselves in the sand. In the sixteenth century, it again violently changed its course and formed what is now the Sea of Aral. These convulsions of nature would abundantly account for the restlessness of the Yuetchi and other tribes of Central Asia. The *Hokekyo* (see Lect 4) is full of allusions to these bad times. I have not deemed it necessary to speak of the calamities which were happening in Europe at the time. They are familiar to any student of Roman History.

1 *Bukkyo Gimon Ha* (Tokyo 1903). The actual words are: "Nyorai wa arakajime kono hito no yo ni idzuru koto wo kenki seraretari to sureba, kore moto yori hiban no kensha naru ni sōi nakaru beki nari. Yo wa kakaru kensha no toki atte, yo ni shutsugenshi tamaeru koto wo shinzu.

"If it can be proved that the Tathāgata appeared a second time in the Life-time of this man, it will show without doubt that he (As'vaghosha) was a very great Saint. But seeing that he actually was such a Saint. I can fully believe that there was such a manifestation of the Tathāgata during his life-time."

I venture to think that this is a most important passage. It points to the conclusion which I have long been coming to that Christianity and Mahâyânism owe their origins to the same "divine life." As'vaghosha's *Buddha Caritā* is the earliest of the Biographies of Buddha. If the statement made in the *Gimon Ha* can be sustained, the similarities between the Buddha Caritā and the Gospels are partly accounted for. At any rate, the passage will serve to bring into greater prominence the accounts given in the Apocryphal Gospels.

Buddha were both a little changed. Gotama is henceforth known as Sakyamuni[1] (a name unknown to the Hinayâna of the Magadha teachings) and the title *Tathāgata* ("thus *gone*," referring to the Nirvâna of the Master), when translated into Chinese, became *Julai* or *Nyorai* ("*thus come.*") It was an unconscious testimony to the fact that in the meantime an Advent of some kind had taken place.[2]

In the first Century A.D. commences the first Buddhist Evangelization of China. The first mission, undertaken in consequence of the Emperor Mingti's vision, was a comparative failure. Only two men went, and they died within four years after their arrival.

Eighty years later, A.D. 148, we get the true Buddhist propaganda in China, headed by a Prince of Parthia, who had resigned his throne, in order to become a monk. He is said to have been the son of a famous Parthian King who had been the enemy of Trajan and the ally of Hadrian, to whom he owed his restoration, and whose sister, taken prisoner by the former, had been set free by the latter of these two Emperors, after several years of captivity in Rome. Christianity had long ere this taken firm root in Persia, and in Central Asia around Balkh and Merv.[3] It is a noteworthy fact that of the early Buddhist missionaries to China nearly all came, not from India, but from Central Asia, from Parthia,

1. Gotama is the personal name of the historical Buddha. He belonged to the tribe of the Sakyas, and the name Sakyamuni was given him when the Sakyas adopted him as their special religious teacher. Magadha and Kosala form as it were two centres of the Buddha's teaching and it has been held that the use of the names Sakyamuni and Gotama marks the *provenance* of the Sutra

Gotama is said to have prophesied that 500 years after his death, there would come another and greater Buddha. A later tradition makes the period 5000 instead of 500. The point is doubtful and must not be pressed.

3. Christianity in the Persian Dominions. Article by E. Rehatsek, in Trans. R. A. S. Bombay Branch, Vol. XIII.

Afghanistan, Bokhara, Samarcand, and that India proper took no share in the work until much later. The Indian Buddhists at this time were far too busy fighting their religious and political enemies the Brahmans, to have any time to attend to foreign missions, and they were only too glad to avail themselves of any help that came to them from their brethren in Central Asia. It is to these missionaries from Central Asia that China owed the first translations of the books which speak of the Great Vow of Amida.

The history of Chinese Buddhism is mainly one of books and translations. My work here has lain chiefly in analysing the results attained by Dr. Nanjo in his painstaking Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, and in studying the routes leading into China[1] from the west, together with the political changes in the Celestial Empire which necessitated the transference of the capital from one locality to another. I have also tried to gain some idea of the various religions already existing in China —as also of those which, like Buddhism, came into the

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1. The best known route into China from the West was the one described by Pliny: from Balkh, along the *Vallis Comedarum* (mod. Komed.) S. of the Hissar and Alai ranges to *Turris Lapidea*, which has been identified with Irkechtam at the head of the pass between the Alai and Transalai ranges, and then down into the plain, to the *Statio Mercatorum*, not far from the modern Kashgar. Here, as at Balkh, the goods were trans-shipped, and as this transit-trade was most profitable, it was directly to the interest of the Parthians at the one place, and of the Scythians at the other, to prevent China and Rome from having direct tradal relations with each other. On the other hand, the Chinese Sovereigns of the Han dynasty did all in thetr power to get a direct trade with the great Empire of the West. The Romans were equally interested in the matter and the Emperor *Antun*, (Marcus Aurelius) sent an Embassy to China by sea in A.D. 166. I have learned much from Ritter's *Erdkunde*, and also from various scientific journals. There were, of course, other routes for travellers starting from Tashkent, Bokhara, Kabul, or India. Every day adds to our knowledge.

country from the West,—notably Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity.[1]

Then I have worked at Chisha Daishi's[2] brave attempt to harmonize the miscellaneous jumble of 6,000 books which constitute the Northern Buddhist Canon, and thus have come to *Singanfu*, the Capital of China at the beginning of the 9th Century, when Dengyō Daishi [3] and Kōbō [4] were sent over to Japan as Government students of religion. They found in

1. (i.)—*Nestorians.* There is a very full account of Nestorianism in China in vol. V. (1856) of the Journal of the American Oriental Society. From it we learn, on the authority of the Singan-fu monument, that *Alopen* or *Alopun*, a Syrian Bishop, arrived in that city in A.D. 639, and that his books were translated into Chinese by order of the reigning Emperor, that there were difficulties with Buddhists in A.D. 713; that in 746 or thereabouts, there were in the city 14 Buddhist monasteries, 27 Buddhist nunneries, 10 Taoist monasteries, 6 Taoist nunneries, 2 Persian Temples (probably Manichaean) and 4 Churches of the Heaven worshippers (Christians). In 781 the celebrated monument was erected by a Persian Nestorian priest. In 845 the Emper Wutsung, dissolved all Syrian, Persian, and Mohammedan religious orders, and sent all foreign missionaries home. In 877 there was a great massacre at Kan-fu in which 120,000 Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Manichaeans were slain. There were further persecutions in 961, 984, 1131.

(ii.)—*Manichaeans.* The late Mons. M. G. Deveria, *Musulmans et Manichéens Chinois* in Journal Asiatique, [Ser. IX. Tome X. p. 445] says that Manichaeans were to be found at Singan-fu, as early as A.D. 500, with priests called *Saba* (Nestorian priests were *Seng*—Jap. *Sō*), and a big Temple known as *Taishinji.* Manichaean books were brought there in 694, by a Persian named *Futo-ien.* The Manichaeans tried to pass as Buddhists, and had temples at Singan-fu, Honanfu, Taiyuanfu, and later at Ningpo. In 768 they were very strong in Orkhon among the Uighurs. When the Uighurs were worsted by the Khirgiz in 845, their congregations were dissolved, as were also those of the Nestorians. Mazdeism was found in Shansi and Kansu in the 1st century A.D., and there was a Mazdean (fire-worshipping) temple at Singanfu in A.D. 677. The Manichaeans are "said by the Chinese to be the root from which sprang the Pei-lien-kieu" (White Lotus Sect) which has given such trouble to the last and present dynasties by its obstinate adherence to its religion (Richards, *Conv. by the Million.* Vol. II. p. 120.)

2. *Chisha Daishi.* See Lecture II.

3. *Dengyō Daishi.* Enreki 7th year founded Hieizan. Went to China by the order of Kwammu Tennō, and there studied several branches of Buddhist lore. i.e.:—

THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT.

(See page 200.)

Illustration kindly loaned for the Transactions by Wm. J. Bishop.

Singanfu, Buddhism supreme, with Confucianism and Taoism, sometimes as enemies, sometimes as friends. The Manichaeans had at least one large Church in the City: the Nestorians had four, and when Kōbō and Dengyo visited the city they must have seen standing at a street corner the celebrated Singanfu monument which proclaimed to all China the great doctrines of the Christian Faith.

This brought me to Manichaeism, the non-Buddhist faith most akin to the system adopted by Kōbō Daishi for use in Japan. Kōbō's faith—the so-called Mantra or Shingon Buddhism—so much resembled Manichaeism that it might be said to be practically the same system. It had many Indian elements in it, but also some that were Egyptian and Gnostic.[1] To Christians, it is interesting, because St. Augustine was for many years a Manichaean before becoming a Christian, and because many of the points which St. Augustine tells us about

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Tendai from Dōsui and Gyōman. *Mitsukyō* from Shōkyō Ajari.
Zenpō from Dosen Zenshi. *Bosatsukai* from Dosui Washō.

All these four were afterwards incorporated into Dengyō's system, which in this respect differs from Chinese Tendai. But the basal Scripture is still the Hokekyō.

On his return he opened classes for students whom he admitted from their 15th year, and to whom he lectured for a long course of years, administering the Unified Mahâyâna Precepts. The graduates of this College were afterwards appointed to important positions, e.g. headships of Kokubunji Temples.

To the above four he afterwards added Nembutsu practices. Important personages are Jigaku Taishi Ennin, and Chishō Daishi Enchin. Imperial Favour was fully bestowed on Hieizan, e.g. by the Emperors Goshirakawa and Uda.

4. *Kōbō Daishi.* Born A.D. 774. His original name was Kūkai. Becoming a priest, he was sent in 804 to China, whence he returned a few years later, bringing with him the *Shingon* teachings. In 816 he founded the monastery of *Kōya San*. where he died, and where his body is said to be awaiting the appearance of the Future Buddha, Maitreya. He was a great benefactor of his country, planned roads, encouraged industries, and is known as the inventor of the Japanese alphabet.

1. To this must be added a strong element of Zoroastrianism. I am now now engaged on the study of a Shingon book recently published in Japan, *Jūsan Butsu no Yūrai*, which will, I hope, throw much light on Shingonism. It

the Manichaeans are to be found in the Shingon Buddhism of to-day.[1]

I.—On the 20th April A.D. 242, Sapor I. King of Persia, was crowned at Persepolis. He was the second King of the Sassanian House, and his coronation implied the firm establishment of a national Government for Persia. In the midst of the rejoicings, a young man stepped forward announcing himself a Prophet. "What Zoroaster was to Persia," he said, "what Buddha to India, what Christ in the West, that am I to Babylonia." The faith that he proclaimed was to be a revival of the old faith of Babylon, in which he saw the materials for a world-wide, all-embracing, religion.[2]

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gives, among other things, Japanese translations of great portions of the basal Scriptures of Shingonism.

1. St. Augustine, as is well-known, was for several years before his conversion to Christianity a Manichaean. His treatises against Manichaeism ought, therefore, to be of the greatest value for our researches But, though Arabian Historians say that "Manes made much of Buddha," we find no traces of Buddhism in St. Augustine. The Manichaeism which he combated was entirely the European variety. Perhaps the most interesting of St. Augustine's anti-Manichaean works is the Reply to Faustus, a Manichaean teacher, whom he also mentions in the fifth book of His Confessions. In this he allows Faustus to speak for himself, there being long passages apparently quoted in full from Faustus' own works. These sections are interesting as showing that the Manichaeans felt many of the difficulties of the Christian revelation much in the same way as the Buddhist of Japan feels them to-day. The books are almost entirely taken up with the "higher criticism" of the Christian Scriptures, but throw no light on the origins of Manichaeism, or on its connection with Eastern religions.

2. Kessler.—*Mani.* I. p. 187, gives the following quotation, taken from Birûni, out of one of Manes' own writings: "Wisdom and good works have been handed down in unbroken succession from age to age by the messengers of God. Thus in one period the true religion was proclaimed in India by the prophets whom men call Buddhas: in another, in Persia, by Zoroaster: in another, by Jesus, in the lands of the West. Then came the present revelation and prophecy in these latter days, in Babylonia, by me, Manes, the Apostle of the true God." Kessler (l.c.) gives, for the sake of comparison, a somewhat similar list:—Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, the Buddhas, Zoroaster, Messiah, Paul. The list should end with Manes, but the Persian author, from whom Kessler quotes, is a Mussulman, and so closes his list with Mahomet. The use of the word *Messiah* is striking. Notice also in the above list the plural form, 'the Buddhas."

II.—Cubricus (the young man's real name) was born of a noble, but poor, family in Babylonia. His father was a very religious man, and a leading light among the Mugtasilahs, a half Christian, half pagan sect, amongst whom the lad learned a great deal both about Christianity and about the old faith of the Babylonians. The Persians, who ruled the country, were Zoroastrian fire worshippers, and there were many Jewish colonies in Babylon. Evidently he was accustomed to a jumble of religious notions.[1]

Adopted by a widow woman, whose wealth was put at his disposal, he found amongst her books some evidently Buddhist works which attracted his attention. Only the names of these books have been preserved,—the *Gospel*—the *Chapters*—the *Mysteries* and the *Treasure*,—but they were evidently Buddhist from the fact that they professed to be written by a man named Scythianus[2] (*Scythian*=*Sakyan*, *c.f.* Sakyamuni) and enlarged or re-edited by his disciple Terebinthus who afterwards assumed the title of Buddha.[3]

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1. See Kessler's, *Mani*, for a full discussion of Manichaeism.

2. See Cyril of Jerusalem. *Cat. Lect.* vi. § 22-23. Likewise Epiphanius *adv. Haer.* Both these writers seem to have derived their information from the Acta Archelai.

3. For a full discussion of these books, see the close of the fourth Lecture. Epiph. adv. Haer. II. ii. (p. 620), in Migne's Patrologie especially mentions that Scythianus was well versed in the magical arts of the Indians and Egyptians. The words of St. Cyril are as follows: (Cat. Lect. vi. 22 23). "There was in Egypt one Scythianus, a Saracen [the Saracens came originally from the same country as the Yuetchi] by birth, with nothing in common either with Judaism or Christianity. This man, who dwelt at Alexandria [Epiphanius adds that he had also lived in a seaport town on the Red-Sea], and imitated the life of Aristotle composed four books " ..... " But when Scythianus purposed to come into Judaea, and make havoc of the land, the Lord smote him with a deadly disease and stayed the pestilence." The Acta Archelai adds that Scythianus wished to go to Jerusalem "for the purpose of meeting all those who had a reputation there as teachers;" and Epiphanius says that Terebinthus carried out his master's intention came to Jerusalem *περὶ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν ἀποστόλων*, and was there rejected by the heads of the Christian Church.

Cubricus then went on his travels, to the confines of India and China, i.e. the country north of Afghanistan, Turkestan, or Bactria. Here he lived in a cave—the whole country is filled with ancient Buddhist rock-monasteries: and acquired fame as a painter—the rock caves are full of mural decorations. When he came back, he had assumed the name of *Mani*, the artist or painter, with an alternative *Manichæus*, which may possibly be connected with the famous Indian Monastery of *Manikyala*.[1]

When Mani appeared at the coronation of Sapor and formulated his doctrine, he was first welcomed, then (possibly for political purposes) banished. Sapor's successor, Hormisdas I., recalled him and showed him much favour:—but the next King was his enemy. He was arrested and put to death. He was flayed while still living, and his skin, stuffed with straw, was hung up *in terrorem* over the gates of Persepolis.

III.—After his death his religion spread with great rapidity, adapting itself, wherever it went, to the religion of the country. We find Manichaeans in Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, Egypt (Manes, speaking to Christians calls himself the Apostle

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1. The Persian word *Mani* also means a painter, and there is a tradition that Manes when in exile, supported himself by making mural paintings such as are found in the Buddhist rock-monasteries. The Hokekyō (See Lect iv.) makes special reference to the merit to be acquired by those who paint the walls of rock-monasteries. Epiphanius says that Mani means σκεῦος, a vessel, or vehicle. H. G. Raverty, [" *Tebbat three hundred and sixty five years ago.*" Trans. R. A. S. Bengal. 1895 (p. 122)] mentions that at Lhassa, "some relate that the *tabut* [bier or coffin] of Mani the naqquash is preserved here." This paper is a translation from a Mohammedan writer, and clearly shows that Moh. tradition connects *Mani* with the Buddhism of Thibet. It is quite possible that the *tabut* may have been the ceremonial throne used to signify the "vacant chair of the teacher" at the *Bema* festival held by Manichaeans to commemorate the Martyrdom of their Founder. St. Augustine speaks of the Bema as having been a very impressive rite. Other Manichaean traces are to be found in Ceylon as well as in Thibet.

of Christ, or the Paraclete),[1] in North Africa (St. Augustine), in France and Spain. It is mentioned as a great honour to Ireland that there were no Manichaeans there, and among the tenets and practices for which the Knights Templars were suppressed were some that were Manichaean.

Again, there were Manichaeans in Ceylon, in South India (there was a Manichaean St. Thomas, and the shrine near Madras is said to be Manichaean), in Thibet (relics), and very numerous communities in Turkestan, Balkh, Kashgaria, Samarcand.[2] They were in China in A.D. 500, if not earlier, with large temples at Singanfu and other places, and it is said of them that their priests (Saba) passed themselves off as Buddhists, and adopted Buddhist terminology and discipline.

IV.—In A.D. 805 and 806 there arrived at Singanfu two Japanese priests, sent by Government to study religious conditions and report. The Indian Buddhism till that time in

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1. In *Bukkyō Kakushū Kōyō* (vol. i. Hossō Shu, chap. i.) the authors say that in the ninth century after Buddha's death (Buddhist chronology is notoriously loose) the Bodhisattva Maitreya descended from (the Tushita) Heaven to a Great Preaching Hall (Jap. daikōdō) in Ayasha no Kuni (? Ujjain) where he delivered lectures on the five Abhidharmas. The date is not quite right, when the story is told about Vasubandhu, who lived in the fifth century, A.D., but why should not this have been Manes? In speaking to Christians we know that he called himself the Paraclete. In speaking to Buddhists it would be most natural for him to speak of himself as the Maitreya whom the Buddhist world was expecting. The Chinese Tripitaka contains several books by Maitreya, who is not however the expected Messiah, but a human Bodhisattva of that name.

2. In the list of Manichaean writings given by Kessler (Mani. I. p. 214 f.f.) are the following:—To the Indians, to the inhabitants of Kaskar, to Armenia, to Ktesiphon, to Babylon, to Mesene (in Arabia Felix).

The Arab writer Alberuni (quoted by Kessler I. p. 322) says that in his days, A.D. 1048, there were many Manichaeans in Turkestan, China, Thibet and even in India. The Manichaeans were divided into two classes. (*a*) Those who maintained that miracles had ceased with Christ and that Manes had no miraculous powers, and (*b*) those who held that Manes had been a wonder worker. If I am right in seeing strong traces of Manichaeism in the Shingon and Tendai Sects in Japan, Dengyō Daishi would seem to have belonged to the first, and Kōbō Daishi to the second.

Japan was not altogether satisfactory and the Government wanted something better adapted to existing conditions.

They had an abundant choice of material. Confucianism, Taoism, Nestorian Christianity (the celebrated Singanfu tablet) Manichaeism, and Buddhism of many sorts—Small Vehicle, and Large, Indian and Chinese.

Dengyo Daishi, the first of these young men, adopted the Buddhism lately formulated in China by Chisha Daishi, better known as Tendai Daishi. It was an eclectic system, containing elements taken from many sources, Manichaean among the rest. Some day I hope to give a lecture on Tendai, to-day I shall confine myself to the form of faith brought over to Japan by the other Government student, Kōbō Daishi.

Kōbō Daishi's sect is known in Japan as Shingon, or Mantra, in India, as Yogachara. It does not claim to be based at all on the teachings of Sakyamuni. "Sakyamuni's faith," said a Shingon believer the other day, "is a very imperfect doctrine, good enough for the ignorant and imperfect. We speak wisdom amongst the Perfect[1]—and the wisdom which we have did not come from Sakyamuni, but from a Greater Buddha *Vairoc'ana* (in Jap. Dainichi) who revealed it to men." I hope to be able to show that this Shingon teaching is simply Mani-

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1. The distinction between "hearers" and "perfect," was made in a book called, in Greek, ἡ τῶν κεφαλαίων βίβλος or τὰ κεφάλαια, in Latin, *Epistola Fundamenti*. St. Augustine wrote a treatise against it. It is described by the Manichaean Felix, quoted by St. Aug., as containing *initium, medium* et *finem* of the Manichaean faith. It contains, besides rules for the "perfect" and "hearers," a dogmatic statement about the "*Light-pleroma*" which corresponds so nearly to the Jap Buddhist conception of *Vairoc'ana*, "in whom all fulness dwells." Much of this was taken from the doctrines of the Mendaeans amongst whom Manes had spent his youth. (Cf. Kessler. Mani I p. 200, and Brandt).

There was another book, θησαυρός, (in Kessler "Buch der Lebendigmachung"), a title evidently taken from a similar work by Scythianus. (see note above). Epiphanius also mentions a μικρὸς θησαυρός, and Kessler I 214., an Epistle, *Aufmunterung zur Frommigkeit*, which suggests As'vaghosha's "Awakening of Faith."

chaeism. I know that it is generally looked upon as being essentially Hindoo,—a mere adaptation of mystic Hinduism to the tenets of Buddhism. But there are some striking differences between the Hindu *yoga* and the Shingon *yogachara*, and those differences are just what we should expect from a Manichaean adapter. Have we not already seen that, in speaking to Christians, Manes spoke of himself as the Comforter, while his disciples in China ranked themselves as Buddhists? We should naturally expect him to the Hindoos to be as a Hindoo that he might gain the Hindoos.

V.—The Shingon believers claim that their doctrines came from South India, where Nagarjuna found their Sacred Books in an Iron Tower, where he received Baptism from an old saint.[1]

As a matter of fact, both Manichaeism and the earlier Zoroastrianism on which it was partly based were firmly established in Southern India, and there is a great deal in common in the terminology and ritual of Hindooism and of Zoroastrianism: e.g. the words *goma*, *akia*, and the fire-sacrifices belonging to them and to the Shingon.

VI.—When a Manichæan became a Christian he was required to make the following abjuration: "I anathematize .....Terebinthus who is called Buddha.....Zoroaster, whom Manes called a god, who had, so he said, appeared in former times to the Indians and Persians (possibly this is the

1. Baptism in the Shingon and Tendai sects (Skt. *Abhisekha*. Jap. *Kwanjo*) is the exact counterpart of what it was in Manichaeism, not a symbol of new life, nor an initiation for all believers, but a sign of admission into the higher grade of believers. Manichaeism had two grades of disciples, the Hearers and the Perfect;—with different rules and discipline for each. Like the Shingon monk, the Manichaean "Perfect" had to abstain from marriage, business, and all connection with the world. These men in each case form the hierarchy, and admission to the higher ranks is by Baptism. I believe this tower to have been the Manichaean Shrine of St. Thomas in S. India, and that the Nagarjuna of the Mantra sects was quite a different personage from the Nagarjuna who composed the S'astra on the *Prajna Paramitā*.

explanation of the Iron Tower) and whom he named the Sun (Jap. Dainichi).....I anathematize all the gods whom Manes has invented.....the four-faced Father of Greatness[1] (the eternal Buddha of Shingonism is 'four-faced,' having four essential qualities).....the so-called Male Virgin of light the shoulder Bearer[2].....the five spiritual Lights, (*τα πέντε φέγγη*[3].....the Five Dhyani Buddhas of Shingon,.....the

1. *Four-faced.* In Shingonism, all the Buddhas, and consequently Mahāvairo-c'ana, (i.e. God) "on' quatre corps spirituels, qui sont, 1°, celui de leur nature originelle, 2° celui qu'ils revêtent selon leur pensée, 3° le transformé, 4° le derivé de celui ou secondaire," Rev. de l'Hist d. Rel. XXVI. 311. Cf. the *Tetractys* in the system of Proclus, the Neoplatonist.

2. *Shoulder-bearer* Cf. the Sutra of the Burden-bearer in J. R. A. S. 1901. 573. "Je vous enseignerai le fardeau, le porteur du fardeau, la prise du fardeau, le depôt du fardeau. Le fardeau ce sont les cinq skandhas: la prise du fardeau, c'est la *trisna*:.....le depôt du fardeau, c'est l'extinction de la *trisna*: le porteur du fardeau c'est le *pudgala* (Jap. *alaya-shiki*), c'est le personnage respectable que vous voyez, qui a un tel nom &c. &c." *Vallée Poussin.* Dogme-Bouddh J. A. Se. IX. T. XX. 266. In a passage in Epiphanius (adv. Haeres. LXVI. cap XXV) it says that Manes taught that *ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος* consisted of *τὰ πέντε στοιχεῖα. εἰσὶ δε ἄνεμος, φῶς, ὕδωρ, πῦρ καὶ ὕλη.* There was a sixth, *ψυχή*, the soul, of which man had been robbed. In *Tsuzoku Bukkyo Gimon Kaito Shû*, Vol. I. p. 504, is a lengthy exposé of Shingon doctrine as to the soul. It lays down the six principles, earth, water, &c., with *shiki* as the sixth. These six, it says, are expressed by the mystic dharani *a-ba-na-ka-ki-un* and correspond to the six organs, and the six senses of man It was to save the "burden-bearer"—(the pudgala) that the Saviour, according to Manes came into the world. *ὅτε δὲ εἶδε, φήσιν, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ζῶν θλιβομένην τὴν ψύχην ἐν τῷ σώματι.....ἔπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτου.* Ep. l.c. cap. XLIX. *Abarakakium* is the *Abrasax* of the Egyptian Gnostics, e.g. Basilides.

3. The Arab Historian, Al Jàkûbi, (Kessler I. 323) says that God is only a name for the Five Concepts—colour, taste, smell, touch hearing. These however constitute personality and so God is a personal being. The same applies to the god of darkness. This is, however, not so in the *Fihrist al ulûm* the greatest of all Persian authorities on Manes. God—the King of the Paradises (pl.) of Light has five elements.—Gentleness, Knowledge, Understanding, Secrecy, Insight:—five spiritual elements—Love, Faith, Truth, Bravery, Wisdom. Earth has the same five elements, to which the spiritual elements corresponding are:—Breath Wind, Light, Water, Fire.

five spiritual emanations from the Manichæan God.....in each case incarnated in great religious teachers.....with Christ as the φέγγος or "light" of the West in the one case, and Amida as the Dhyani Buddha of the West in the other)..... in short, I anathematize all the gods, Aeons, and derivative Aeons (αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων--the Buddhas, Bosatsu, and Manushi Buddhas) whom Manes invented.' It is hard to imagine at first how immense is the Pantheon of Buddhism in its Tendai and Shingon forms.

"I anathematize those that say that Zoroaster, *Buddha, Christ*,[1] Manes, and the Sun, (—the five Dhyani Buddhas ending up with Vairocana=Dainichi=Amaterasu=the Great Sun—) are one and the same. (It is just what Shingon says).....that identify Christ with the Sun and worship the celestial bodies (again Shingon).....that say that the souls of men are identical with God (again Shingon).....that teach that plants, trees, water, and such like things are endowed with souls (Shingon again)."

VII.—One of the strangest identifications that I have found I got from St. Augustine, who was himself at one time a Manichaean. Among other things in his anti Manichaean treaties (*e.g.* the division of believers into Hearers and Perfect,

1. There is a strange passage in Epiph. which I give below in which he speaks of the historical Christ as being in the Small Vehicle, much as the historical Gotama was. Here is the quotation.

Epiph. adv. Haeres. LXVI (p. 647) cap. XXXI.

αἱ δὲ προβολαὶ πᾶσαι, ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὁ ἐν τῷ μικρῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ οἱ δωδέκα κυβερνῆται, καὶ ἡ παρθένος τοῦ φωτὸς, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ τρίτος, ὁ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πλοίῳ, καὶ τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μεγάλου πυρός, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος .....

Here it is noticeable that Jesus is put in the "Small Vehicle," while the unknown "tertius senex" is described as belonging to the "Great Vehicle." The walls against fire, wind, etc., are to be found among the *signacula* of the *Shido-in-dzu*, p. 158, 76, but esp, pp. 28-32. The *tertius senex* is the Great Sakyamuni of the Hokekyō, the first being the historical Gotama, and the second, the expanded Sakyamuni of the earlier Mahâyâna

which is also found in Shingon) he tells us that the Manichaeans had a threefold system of sacramental or quasi-sacramental worship, based on ethical rules of life, and known as the *signacula* or *seals*. There were three seals, he tells us, of the hand, the mouth, the heart,—*signaculum oris, manus, pectoris*. Strange to say Shingon has the same—a threefold rule of life with conduct for body, mouth, and heart (Jap. *sangui*) and based on that threefold system of worship known as the *san-mitsu*, "the three secrets." When we come to enquire more particularly, we find that these secrets are actually called *seals*, of the hand, the mouth, and the heart, the first consisting of certain ritual signs to be done with the hands during worship, the second, of certain formulae or mantras (*dharani*) to be recited, and the third of certain acts of meditation to be made. The seals of the hands are all explained in the *Shido-indzu* in the Annales du Musée Guimet. The mantras or seals of the mouth are mostly unintelligible formulae, supposed to be Sanskrit, but not always so (*e.g.* akka=water), and there is said to be only one man (81 years old) who now understands them.[1] Of the meditations I could not learn much except that they did not differ materially from the *zazen* of the other sects.

VIII.—As we come to know more of Japanese history we shall probably find some deep reason prompting the Government of that time to send over students of religion to China. All sorts of religious ideas were coming into the country, as they had done a century before into China, Religious confusion, leading to spiritual unrest, was much to be dreaded, and a harmonious and harmonizing system seemed an essential. Dengyo and Kōbō were both harmonists, and the *Ryobu*

1. Many of these spells, or *dharani*, are to be found in Chap. XXI. of the Hokekyo. I have found some, esp. applicable to Kwannon, in a little Catechism entitled *Kwannon no Kudoku*; and there is a (Shingon) book on the "Thirteen Buddhas" which gives the proper Mantra to be used for each of these personages.

Shinto,[1] which they favoured brought quietness, if it did not bring spiritual strength to the country. Consciously or unconsciously Kōbō was a true disciple of Manes, and his system worked for great comprehensiveness as did also that of its rival of Tendai.

We have thus in the Japanese Shingon a complexity of causes working as it were in and out upon each other. Egypt, Babylon, and Persia, influence the Hindoo ritual, which in its turn influences the decadent Buddhism of the last two centuries before Christ.

This Buddhism comes back to Egypt in the person of Scythianus, where it is infected with Alexandrine speculation, and so returns to Babylon and India. Then it influences Manes on the one hand, and Nâgârjuna on the other, and these two streams flowing in totally different channels, at length meet in China, where Kōbō Daishi unites them into one, and out of them forms the Japanese system of the Shingon. The tracing of these interacting influences can only be compared to the following out the pedigree of a family the members of which have for several generations intermarried with each other.

1. *Ryobu Shinto*, sometimes also called *Ryobu Bukkyo*, is an amalgamation of the two religions into one system by treating Shinto gods as Buddhas and vice versa. It was definitely swept away at the Restoration of Meiji.

LECTURE II.

DARUMA AND THE BUDDHIST CANON.

Daruma is in Japan the name given to a peculiar legless doll which is often to be seen in the hands of children. It may be looked upon as the equivalent of our Noah's Arks, for it is in reality the image of a great Buddhist Saint. In China, the Saint's name is Tamo, a personage held in so high esteem that the first missionaries thought that he was no other than the Apostle St. Thomas, whom legehd has credited with the evangelization of India and China. His real name is *Bodhidharma*. He was an Indian Buddhist, the son of an Indian *Raja*, who made his appearance in China about the year A.D. 520, where he founded the *Zen* or *Dhyani* sect. This sect, under the name of Busshinshu (Sect of Buddha's mind) was brought into Japan as early as A.D. 654 by the monk Dosho, who failed, however, to gain much popular favour for his teachings. It was re-imported in 1172 and 1194, respectively by Eisai and Dosen, in two sections, the *Rinzai*, which came from the South of China, and the *Sōdō*, which came from North of the Yangtze. The big Monasteries at Kamakura belong to the former, the Sōdō has its chief seat at the Eiheiji in Echizen.

To judge of Daruma's work, it is necessary to speak first of the Canon of Northern Buddhism.

The first official appearance of Buddhism in China was in A.D. 67, when, in answer to the Emperor Ming-ti's invitation,

two priests, Matanga and Dharmaraksha, brought Buddhist books, relics, and images, from N.W. India, and founded a monastery which still exists, under the name of the White Horse. Both these men died in A.D. 70 leaving behind them four books, of which only one now exists, the Sutra of the 42 sections. The next batch of missionaries came to China in A.D. 147, headed by the Parthian Prince, Anshikâo. The interval of seventy years[1] was largely taken up with controversies and persecutions during which the Buddhists claimed to be miraculously assisted.[2] After A.D. 147 the stream of translators began. What the size of that stream was may be inferred from the fact that in A.D. 730, a short time before Dengyo Daishi came over from Japan, the Northern Buddhist Bible consisted of 5.048 distinct works—with power to add to their number. The treatises were very miscellaneous. There are treatises on abstruse metaphysics, there are also treatises on the cure of the tooth-ache, and there are gods and goddesses, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from every land that ever contained a Buddhist,—Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, India. All the

1. It seems also clear that whereas Ming-ti was a pacific ruler, and, as such, naturally inclined to Buddhism, his successors fell under the influence of the military party, the chief exponent of which was Panchao the Viceroy who pushed his conquests as far as the Caspian Sea

2. During those seventy odd years between A.D. 70 and A.D. 147, the infant Buddhist communities underwent a severe trial of opposition and even of persecution, at the hands of the representatives of the older religions of China. The Confucianists and Taoists were the most vigorous opponents of the foreign religion, and the Buddhist answer seems to have been an appeal to the miraculous. In *Bukkyō Gimon Mondōki* Vol. I. chap 2, there is a long discussion on relics and sacred objects, together with an account of the miracles which are believed to have accompanied the first introduction of Buddhism into China. The bones of Buddhist Saints, placed on an anvil, refused to be broken by the blows of a sledge hammer, the Sacred Books of the priests, and the idols which they venerated, passed unscathed through the ordeal of fire. A drama very similar to that of Elijah and the priests of Baal was enacted in the capital city of the Later or Eastern Han Dynasty, and the result—(if we may trust the Buddhist historians, who are not always veracious)—was the triumph of the foreign religion, through the manifest interposition of Providence.

books claimed to have been originally written in Sanskrit. Sanskrit was the ecclesiastical language of Buddhism, just as much as Latin was the ecclesiastical language of Mediaeval Europe.

The obvious results, which were felt less in India, where there was no importation of books, than in China, where missions came in from all sides, and where the stream was augmented by native additions, was a most alarming confusion of religious ideas. For this several remedies suggested themselves.

(1) *Eclecticism.*—Buddhist teachers took some particular Sutra or Commentary which appealed specially to their wants, and made the selected book or books the bases of their sectarian teaching. These are known as the "One Sutra one Commentary" Sects, and are very largely of Indian origin. The early sects in Japan (mostly extinct) which established themselves during the Nara period (Kusha, Hosso, Jojitsu, Ritsu, Sanron, &c.) belonged to this class. They were narrow and sectarian bodies, and both in Japan and China were disposed to quarrel amongst themselves. There is plenty of proof tending to show that about the Nara period (from A.D. 593 to A. D. 793), Buddhism in Japan was distracted by internal conflicts which were very disturbing to the whole country, and that the Emperor Kwammu's thought, in sending Kōbō and Dengyō to China, was mainly to obtain some religious system which should bring peace to the country and obtain the harmonious co-operation within the body politic of Buddhism, Confucianism and the indigenous Shinto. I have already spoken about Kōbō and his work. It remains for me to speak of Dengyō's labours.

II. *The Harmonists.*—Eclecticism having failed, both in China and Japan, to bring forth good fruit, the way remained open for the Harmonists to try their hand. Was it possible to bring the chaos of Mahâyâna scriptures into anything like order or system? The task exercised the ingenuity of many priests, both Indian and Chinese. *Kaigen* and *Chiko*, among the former, *Eshi*, *Chisha*, *Genshu*, and others, among the latter, all

tried their hands at it and failed. Emon Zenshi (A.D. 400) gave up the attempt in despair, and yet fluked a success. Despairing of finding which was the principal scripture to which the rest of the books should be subordinated, he shut his eyes, walked into the library and took the first book his fingers touched. It happened to be Nagarjuna's *Madhyamika S'āstra*, and he took it as the basis of his arrangement. "And this," says a Japanese writer, "is the basis of the Tendai sect!"[1]

Dengyō Daishi's system was a little different to that. The founder of the Chinese Tendai had supposed four great periods of development in the teachings of Sakyamuni, and had arranged all the scriptures of the Three Baskets according to those periods, making the Madhyamika Sastra the key to the whole harmony. Dengyō Daishi added a fifth period to his harmony of the Master's life, and thereby made room in the highest place for the Saddharma-pundarika, which had been a favorite in Japan ever since the Prince Imperial Shotoku had himself delivered lectures on it in the precincts of the Palace at Nara. Dengyō's periods are the following:—(i) *Kegon* (Avatamsaka) a very exalted set of teachings delivered before Angels and Bodhisattvas, immediately after his Enlightenment, when the celestial glory was still upon Gotama. (ii) *Agon* (Agama), simple teachings, for sinful men, being the substance of his early preachings at Benares and elsewhere. (iii) *Hōdō* (Vaipulya), the "expanded teachings" of a later period, given to disciples with a certain amount of spiritual experience. (iv) *Hannya* (Prajñâ) containing the philosophy of his whole system, and lastly, (v) *Hokke-Nehan* (Saddharma-pundarika, Nirvana), being theological and ecstatic teachings of his last few years. In this way Dengyō Daishi hoped that he had formulated a comprehensive system in which there was room for the

1. Tsuzoku Bukkyo Gimon Mondoki, Vol. III. 507

whole "84,000 articles of the orthodox Mahâyâna Faith," and certainly if the Truth can be obtained by boundless comprehensiveness, Dengyō Daishi was on the way to attaining it. It took a student some twenty years to graduate in theology in the Buddhist University which Dengyō established on Hieizan, and it is extremely doubtful if he could have succeeded in his designs if he had not added to his theological requirements some very practical and beneficial labours of a different sort. It was perhaps too much to expect that so comprehensive a sect as the Tendai should continue for long in a pure and virtuous state. It had in it too much that was incongruous and incompatible, and too much that was worldly and carnal. It was the Court religion, and lent itself to Court intrigues during one of the most intriguing periods of Japanese history. It was torn into factions by the rivalries of ambitious priests, and the conflicting claims of competing monasteries. The Hieizan monks were notorious fighters, and the history of Japanese Buddhism from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1250 is the record of a succession of protests from earnest-minded, spiritual, teachers, against the corruptions of the dominant school of thought.[1]

One of these protests was the protest of the Zen sects in A.D. 1172 and 1194, which I mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Both Eisai and Dōzen based their Protestant teachings on the doctrines formulated by Bodhidharma.

Daruma held with St. Paul, that "the letter killeth." He did not trouble to investigate the Mahâyâna Scriptures, to select this book, or reject that other. He simply put the whole on one side, and said that it was not by the Scriptures that a man could be saved. By clinging to a "One Sutra, One Commentary" system, a man became generally a narrow minded bigot; by trying to follow the Harmonists and adopting all Scriptures, he exposed himself to the danger of always

1. See de Mazelieres *Japan* vols. I and II for a good description of the State of Japan during the period from the 9th to the 13th centuries.

learning and never coming to a knowledge of the Truth. The way of Buddhism was simpler. Its main problem was to arrive at *Busshin*, at the "inmost heart of Buddha," and that was a task which each man must do for himself, by following the path which the Master had trodden first, which the Bodhisattvas and Patriarchs had trodden after him. By his own exertions, by the purification of his own heart, by a deep and constant contemplation of the most abstract kind, and growing deeper and more abstract with every exercise, he must reach out to Truths which Gotama had attained to under the *Bo-Tree*. Daruma's system is the Buddhist counterpart of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola, and the Zen faith has always been the faith of soldiers and men of serious affairs. It was the faith of the manly Hōjō Regents at Kamakura; it has always been the popular Buddhism of the samurai.

When once this enlightenment has been reached, the Zenshu believer will turn to his scriptures, and there find comfort. But he need not confine himself to the Buddhist scriptures at all. Confucianism, especially that of the deep reaching Oyomei School, has always been the strength and stay of the Zenshu priests and lay believers. In modern days, they will turn to Epictetus, to Tolstoi, to Emerson, to Goethe, nay, they will try to find "sermons in stones and good in everything." The Essence of Zenshuism is the "Heart of Buddha." But what that heart is cannot exactly be said. There is a carving at Nikko which tells the tale. Three monkeys holding their hands, one over his eyes, one over his ears, and one over his mouth, *mizaru, kikazaru, iwazaru*:—"Eye hath not seen it, ear hath not heard it, tongue hath not spoken it." The truth lies too deep for any but a communication from mind to mind. Oral transmission fails, the written letter fails still more signally. "All wise men," said Lord Beaconsfield, "are of the same religion: no wise man ever says what that religion is."

The Zenshuists claim, and I think with justice, that theirs is the most pure form of Indian Buddhism in Japan. They

are certainly the most free of any of the Japanese sects from admixture of non-Indian elements. They represent, as far as can be at such a distance of place and time, the old Buddhist faith that renovated India in the days of Gotama and As'oka, that fought against Hindoo philosophers and Brahman sages. They are the sturdiest and strongest, though not perhaps the most obtrusively active, of Buddhist sects at the present day.

To-day I have said all I can in their praise. In my last lecture I shall speak of some criticisms which have been directed against them by contemporaries.

LECTURE III.

TENDAI AND SHINSHU.

I have read in a Buddhist book published this summer (*Bukkyo Kakuha Kōyō*) that the different sects ought to be arranged according to their *honzon*, or principal object of worship. This arrangement gives us three classes of Buddhist sects,—those in which Vairoc'ana is the *Honzon*, those in which it is Sakyamuni, and, lastly, those which give the principal seat of honour to Amida.

The Tendai system, true to its characteristic spirit of comprehensiveness, tried to hold all three, but failed. It admitted Sakyamuni, Amida, and Vairoc'ana, but it did not succeed in keeping its monks true even to one of these three. We find Tendai temples like that *e.g.*, of Asakusa, in which Kwannon is the *honzon*, in others it is Yakushi, or Kompira, the Sanskrit Kuvera. The Tendai very soon split into sub-sects,—partly from worldly reasons, and partly owing to dogmatic considerations. There is a sub-sect of Tendai in which Amida is the *honzon*, in contradistinction to the practice of the main body, which principally reveres the glorified Sakyamuni as described in the Hokekyo, and no less than four sects of out and out Amida worshippers have left the Tendai and set up for themselves. It would take me beyond my present limits to go into a detailed account of these sects. Suffice it to say that the first sect,—the one known as Yudzunembutsu, and founded by Ryonen Shōnin in A.D. 1123,—is based on a vision in which Amida himself

appeared to the founder of the sect, and told him to go out from the Hieizan Monastery, as being a den of demons, and to take refuge in a One Being, who summed and stood for all, and a One religious practice which united all in itself. The Vision showed that the Hieizan required both moral reform and a simplification of dogma, but the Yudzunembutsu can scarcely be said to have been a success. It has always been a small sect: its younger sisters, the Jōdo, founded by Genku, or Hōnen, in 1190, and the Shinshu, established by Shinran in 1224, have both been much more successful. They have appealed to Buddhist history and traditions, have boldy claimed to represent the true teaching of Sakyamuni in his later years, and have gathered three quarters of the Japanese Buddhists into their folds. There is one other Amida sect, the Ji, founded about 1275, also as the result of a vision, but to all practical intents and purposes it is the Jōdo and Shinshu that virtually monopolize the world of Amida worshippers.

These sects (they obviously came into existence in Japan from the absolute necessity of presenting the people of this country with something more simple and practical than the extremely elaborate systems of Shingon and Tendai) all find their peculiar tenets in three Sutras—*Muryōjukyō*, *Kwanmuryō-jukyō* and *Amida-kyō*[1]—in which Sakyamuni discourses of the merits of another Buddha, as great as, or greater than, Himself, Who presides over a Western Paradise into which nothing that is undefiled may enter, and admission to which may be gained, quite irrespective of a man's *Karma*, simply by Faith in and Invocation of the Name of Buddha Amitâbha. Like many (I might say all the) Mâhâyana books, these three Sutras are not mentioned for centuries after Gotama's death. In the middle of the 1st century A.D. As'vaghosha mentions both Amida and the Sutra in his Awakening of Faith (*Kishinron*): we are told that Nâgârjuna died with his face set towards the

1. In Sanskrit respectively the Larger Sukhavati Vyuha, the Amitayur dhyani sutra, and the Smaller Sukhavati Vyuha

Western Paradise: the brothers Asangha and Vasubandhu believed on Amida in India of the fifth century A.D. In China, Amida books were brought in very early, Kumarajiva and others were great translators of these Sutras, and the so-called White Lotus Sect, which is still in existence, has been the foster-mother of the Japanese sects which I have already mentioned. Any one who has given the least attention to Mahâyâna Buddhism will know how hard it is to assign a date to any Sutra coming from India. Even supposing that these Sutras represent the genuine teachings of Sakyamuni, there is an interval of silence, from B.C 490 to A.D. 60, during which neither Amida nor Amida Sutras are once mentioned, so far as we know.

I myself believe that the Sutras, as we have them now, are of a late date, much posterior to Shaka's time, and that the writings themselves should be classed as "Vaipulya," or "developed," i.e. containing doctrines given at first in a very simple form, but expanded and developed on some subsequent occasion. But, while believing the books themselves to be late, I think the teaching concerning Amida may have been actually given, *in germ*, by Sakyamuni himself during one of the last years of his Life (say B.C. 485.) I will give the reasons which have led me to this conclusion.

There is a touch of time and place about the Amitayurdhyana Sutra which seems to my mind to bear all the marks of being essentially true. It is known that Gotama had, as one of his most earnest disciples, a local Rajah, Bimbisara by name. Bimbisara had a bad son, Ajatasatru, who, conspiring with Gotama's wicked cousin Devadatta, plotted to dethrone his father, and reign in his stead. The old King was accordingly thrown into prison, and, by his son's orders, kept on very short commons in the hopes that he might die. Queen Vaidehi, however, managed to smuggle food into the prison, and the old King lived and throve. Then the wicked son redoubled the severity of his father's imprisonment, and Vaidehi was no longer permitted access to her husband in

gaol. In her distress, she then sent for the Buddha, to come and give counsel and advice. "What have I and my husband done," she asked, "that we should be tormented with such a wicked son?" And, "where is there a place that is free from sin and defilement? for I can find none in India." She was quite right. There was no such teaching in India at the time, as may be seen from the accounts given in the various biographies of Gotama's discussions with hermits and sages, at the time when he was seeking after Enlightenment. In an ordinary Buddhist book, Gotama ought to have told her a very prosaic *Jataka* story, of how, *e.g.* she had been a butcher in some previous existence, and was now expiating her wickedness by one life of misery for every animal she had killed, and all the comfort he ought to have been able to offer her should have been that, when all these thousands of sins had been expiated in some very remote future, she might possibly look forward to a better existence. Instead of that, with a refreshing inconsistency, Gotama sweeps aside the whole system of *karma* (the only law that India until then knew), explains to her one or two religions,—for I take the expression "a Buddha-field" to mean a religion,—and bids her look for comfort to the West, to a Pure Land in which *karma* is for ever set aside through the merits of the Great Buddha of the western regions. That is the germ of the Amida Cult. The idea is worked out and elaborated in the three Sutras: the elaboration is, I think, of a later date, but the narrative I have related sounds to me like a genuine page from Sakyamuni's life.

The question at once arises, from whence did Sakyamuni obtain his knowledge of this western "Buddha field," (or religion), with its principle of salvation by faith and purity of life, this faith which is outside of India, but which is yet, according to these Sutras, destined to attract to itself converts from all the other Buddha fields in the world, and whose Master is so exalted a personage that Sakyamuni can tell Vaidehi that "Amitâbha is always near to you"?

We might perhaps say that it came to him through prophetic or spiritual insight, and we could not reasonably refuse to grant to Sakyamuni that gift which we grant to a Gentile prophet such as Balaam. But there is no necessity to suppose any prophetic gift at all.

When Sakyamuni came into the world, B.C. 550 or thereabouts, the great Babylonian Empire was at the height of its outward prosperity though inwardly tottering to its fall. The exiled Jews were there, and they were of two kinds,—the pious souls, who mourned for their sins by the waters of Babylon, and the moneygrubbers, who availed themselves of the opportunities of being in a first-class commercial city to amass fortunes by trading with merchants from the East. Babylon was the London of the ancient world: Nebuchadnezzar had built for it a fine sea port, between which and India there was much coming and going. Sakyamuni, the bulk of whose disciples came from the merchant-class, cannot very well have missed hearing of Babylon. He was no cave-dweller, he lived amongst his fellow-men.

When Sakyamuni was a young man, the whole world was astonished by the sudden and awful fall of Babylon, and the rapid rise of the Persian Empire, a rise as phenomenal as that of Japan in our days. Events of this importance do not take place in a corner. There was a stock-exchange in Babylon, which must have been effected by the political crisis, and which would in its turn affect the merchants of India, who traded with that country. Sakyamuni must have heard of these happenings, and he cannot well have missed hearing of the facts connected with the Fall of Babylon. Fulfilled prophecies are apt to be exaggerated rather than minimized, and when the people, from whose prophets had come the swiftly-fulfilled predictions of Babylonia's doom, were restored to their country, it was a tale that would not lose by the telling in the bazaars of India.

About the year 520, the year in which Haggai and Zechariah began their prophetic ministry, Darius came to the throne of

Persia. Darius extended the Persian dominions to India, as far as, and perhaps beyond, the Indus, into Punjaub. Sakyamuni was an itinerating preacher, and his wanderings sometimes took him very near to the Persian frontier. His own people were the Sakyans, and there were members of the same tribe living within the territories of the new Persian Kingdom. In 513, Darius undertook his mighty expedition against the Scythians, and bridged the Dardanelles. Herodotus, who wrote the History of that expedition, gives us an account of the Sakyan troops, who came from India, and marched next to their Indian brothers-in-arms, to chastise their Scythian or Sakyan cousins in Europe. The expedition against the Scythians was followed by the War with the Greeks. Sakyan troops must have fought at Marathon, watched the defeat at Salamis, and again fought at Plataea. It is incredible that Sakyamuni, who died a year before Salamis, should not have heard of the mighty Persian Empire, of its founder Cyrus, whom the Babylonian Isaiah recognized as the Servant of Jehovah, and of the new religious spirit which the Babylonian Captivity put into the hearts of the Jews, and through them, later, into the hearts of the world. The Western Buddha field, presided over by Amida, would seem to be an echo of the spiritual teachings of the Jewish prophets of the Exile.[1]

But this is by no means all, for it refers only to the germ out of which was developed the teaching of Amida, and we have said nothing yet about the written books.

Immediately after the death of Sakyamuni, his elder disciples held a Council in a Cave-Monastery at Rajagriha, where they drew up a body of Scriptures, copied down from the memories of the Master's chief co-workers and apostles. Five hundred priests partook in this Council; but it did not

1. I may add that the *Bukkyo Seiten*, in a systematized Life of Shaka, says that the *Kammuryoju kyō* (Amitayur-dhyana-sutra) was preached in the 38th year of Buddha's Ministry. This would place it in the year B.C. 487, three years after the battle of Marathon.

command universal sympathy, for an opposition meeting was held outside the Cave, at which an independent set of teachings was made.

The opposition probably came from the men of Vaisali and the neighbourhood, from subjects of Bimbisara, who had listened to the Master's later teachings, and who did not want to go back to the elements on which the older men insisted. Subsequently (some say 100 years, but this is doubtful) a second Council was held, on the question of relaxations of discipline. The remonstrants could not get their way, and "trekked" across the frontier iuto non-Indian lands. They are called Vrijiputrakas: they were probably Sakyans from Vaisali, and it would seem that they went to seek a home amongst their Sakyan kinsfolk.

Herodotus (Bk. i) tells of a Sakyan army that traversed Palestine and penetrated into Egypt.

Later, Sakyans (Buddhists possibly by this time) fought in the Persian armies against Alexander, and after Alexander's death, in the numerous armies which his successors raised for their frequent wars with one another. When their wars were over, the Greek Sovereigns of Antioch and the East did what the Romans after them did with such striking success: they formed colonies of veterans whom they placed in cities in different parts of the Empire, and whom they thus bound to themselves by free grants of lands and houses. There were many such colonies of veteran Scythians: let me mention one—the town of Bethshan, on the confines of Samaria and Galilee. Its Greek name was Scythopolis, the city of the Sakyans. There was also the district of Decapolis: and Galilee is known as "Galilee of the Gentiles." [1]

1. The early connection of Buddhism with foreign countries may be gathered from the following facts which I take from Kern's *Buddhismus*. (vol. II. p. 279). Yas'as, who in the Northern succession succeeds Ananda as third patriarch, was a merchant-sailor ("See händler") during Gotama's lifetime, and entered the monastic order soon after the Nirvâna. It is said of another Patriarch, Dhîtika, (Kern. l.c. 273) that he made many conversions in Tocharis-

When, under As'oka, B.C. 263—245, Buddhism became the dominant faith of India, a wave of missionary zeal came over the country, and Buddhist missions went East and West, reaching as far as Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece. These would naturally go to their brethren of the Buddhist and Sakyan Dispersion. The Persian Empire, let me add, was famous for its good roads and communications. These roads were kept up by their Greek successors: and in India there is at least one ancient high-road, marked with monasteries, that runs from Central India, across the Punjaub into Afghanistan.

A hundred years later, during the wars of the Maccabees, about A.D. 150, we get the first mention made of the sect of the *Essenes*, a mysterious people living, both geographically and spiritually, on the confines between Jewry and the outside world. Much has been said about this strange people. It has been said that they were a sect of unorthodox Jews: that they were the extreme Persianizers among the Jews, who carried the strict tendencies of the Pharisees to their logical conclusions: that they were very good heathen of the Pythagorean type: that they were Buddhists pure and simple. It has been claimed for John the Baptist that he was an Essene: the same thing has been alleged of Christ. It is pretty certain that neither was an Essene: it is equally certain that there were certain spiritual affinities between the teachings of the Essenes and of Christ, which made many of the former welcome the teachings of the Son of Man. Christ, as far as we know, never mentioned the Essenes, he certainly never spoke badly of them, and many of his sayings were just such as the Essenes themselves would have been likely to formulate. The Essenes were very probably, in their origin, descendants of the mixed families

tan. Diitika is connected with a King of the name of Minara, who may or may not be identical with the Greek King Menander, who reigned in Buctria, and is a well known personage in the history of Northern Buddhism. Among the Apostles sent out after the third Council under Tishya-Maudgaliputra is Dharmarakshita "the Greek" who is said to have worked with considerable success among the nations of Western Asia.

who had been excluded from the Temple by Ezra: with them were mixed Buddhist Sakyans, and others, and their communities were increased, it is said, by additions from time to time from those somewhat Puritanical Jews, who called themselves "the meek of the earth," and who wanted something more restful than the political and worldly religion of the Maccabean and Herodian priesthoods, of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Scribes.

We get most of our knowledge of the Essenes from Josephus and Philo the Alexandrian. They lived a strict, semi-monastic, life, some as monks, others, in the world but not of it; they abstained from meat, and from the animal sacrifices in the Temple, to which however they sent offerings from time to time. They reverenced the old Testament, but they had also books of their own which they kept secret, and certain spiritual Beings or Angels whose names they were sworn not to reveal. They worshipped the Rising Sun, as symbol of their Messianie hopes, a practice to which the prophet Malachi seems to refer when he talks of the "Sun of Righteousness arising with healing in his wings;" and, what is most to our present purpose, they looked forward at death to entering into a Western Paradise.

The Jewish writer, Philo of Alexandria, speaks of the Essenes in the highest terms, as persons from whom he had learned a very great deal. It is to Philo that Christian theology owes the first indications of its highest mystery—the mystery of the Trinity;—for it is in his books that we get the first formulated belief in the Divine Logos or Word, and the first hints of the co-operation of Three Persons in the Divine Godhead. Is it chance, or is it the result of a sequence of cause and effect, that we find in the three Buddhist Sutras of the Amida Sects an indication of a Triad of Divine Persons, all interested in the Salvation of Mankind?

In each of the Sutras in question, Amida appears: in each case he is accompanied by two Bodhisattvas who aid him in his work of mercy. Their names in Sanskrit are Avalokites'vara

and Mahâsthâmaprâpta—"Infinite Mercy" and "Divine Strength"—in Japanese, Kwannon and Seishi. *Kwannon* in the Pure Land books is male, not female: stripped of the wild and fanciful legends with which the misguided devotion of a miracle-mongering Mahâyâna has covered him, he symbolizes God becoming incarnate in many forms and on many occasions in order that He may save, not only all mankind, but all Nature; for Buddhism agrees with St. Paul that by reason of sin "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain." *Seishi*, who, I am told, must not be identified with the Bodhisattva of the same name worshipped by the Shingon, is the symbol of Divine Force, Energy, Spirit,—the Force of God. These, and these three only, are proposed to the Pure Land believer as objects of adoration, in the Buddhist Scriptures which extol the Greatness of Amida, which set before man, even in this world, the hope of the Western Paradise, and proclaim the abolition of Karma through a Divine Person who has obtained for them what a Christian would call the forgiveness of all their sins.[1]

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1. I may perhaps be allowed to give in a note, here, a few thought on the relations between Buddhist *Karma* and Christian Forgiveness. To the Christian, *Karma* seems unnecessarily hard and inexorable, to the Buddhist, the doctrine of Forgiveness seems unjust, because it often is taken to imply that the bad action goes unpunished. But it may be that Karma and Forgiveness go hand in hand, a thought suggested to my mind by a sermon preached in St. Andrew's Church, Tokyo, by the Rev. A.F. King, on Jan. 28. 1908, on a theme connected with the Conversion of St. Paul. Stephen, dying, commends his cause to His Master and God who had said "Vengeance is mine: I will repay." The Vengeance and the Repayment (in Buddhist language, the *Karma* of the bad act) are both to be seen, literally exemplified in the life of St. Paul. The Vision on the Road to Damascus is practically the same as that which was before the eyes of St. Stephen as he confronted his enemies: the stoning at Lystra is the literal expiation of the Martyrdom of St. Stephem. The full tale of punishment is exacted, not in vengeance but in love, not to destroy but to give new life. Saul openly preaches Christ in Damascus, and St. Paul, bruised and crushed though be was, stands up, returns to Lystra, and the next day starts on a long and difficult journey. Karma sometimes becomes what the preacher called the "Vengeance of Divine Love."

It must not, however, be concluded that the relations of Amida and his attendant Bodhisattvas in the Pure Land Sutras are precisely the same as those existing between the Three Persons of the Christian Trinity. There are indeed many and most important points of difference, but into these I have no time to enter, nor is this the place to do so.

I would add, in conclusion, that there is a plainly marked difference between the three Sutras. The Larger Sukhâvati Vyûha refers to the past: it tells of how Amida made His Vow, and how he raised Himself to His Place. The Amitâyur Dhyâna Sutra speaks of the present: it points Vaidehi to the Western Paradise as an actually accomplished fact, and shows how Amida's Mercy suits the needs of all men and draws all men to itself. The Lesser Sukhâvati Vyuha speaks of the Western Paradise of the Future as the place of the Soul after death, (and thereby again overthrows the current Buddhism which knows no proper life after death, and no continued personal identity). The three principal Pure Land Sects (*i. e.* Yudzunembutsu, Jōdo, and Shinshu) do not agree, I am told, in the value they attach to these Sutras, each of them laying especially stress on one or the other book, according as they lay more or less emphasis on present, past, or future.[1]

1. In a recent number of a popular Japanese magazine, Mr. Saeki publishes an article which I hope may soon be published in English, on the discovery of an ancient colony of Jews in Japan. In the light of this discovery, I should be glad to see some scholar take up the study of an old Japanese book, *Fushi-Sōgō* (the "Reconciliation of Father and Children") which is highly esteemed amongst Shinshu believers. The very title of the book suggests the last verse of the prophecy of Malachi, in whose writing there is much that would appeal to an Amidaist. Mr. Saeki's discovery strengthens the conjecture made in this lecture that the idea of Amida came into Buddhism from the Exilic and post Exilic prophets of Judaism.

IV. NICHIREN AND HOKEKYŌ

If we were wishing to pick holes in Japanese Buddhism, it would be the Japanese Buddhists themselves that would provide us with the pick to do it with. We have already seen, in a previous lecture, how vigorously Bodhidharma and his followers handled the Sacred Canon of the Mahāyāna Scriptures, and swept aside all the labours of the painstaking translator, the unscrupulous forger, and the ingenious harmonist, in one impartial condemnation. To-day, we shall see Nichiren, the greatest and most striking personality in the whole of Japanese Buddhist literature, passing the most scathing of condemnations on all his Buddhist brethren and predecessors, and proclaiming himself the Apostle of a Buddhist Belief, so different to all that had gone before as practically to amount to a new religion.

Nichiren, born in 1222, began to propagate his new faith in 1253. The shadow of the Mongol was lying, black and gloomy, over a great part of Asia. At any moment, the dreaded conqueror might, as in fact he did a few years later, stretch forth a greedy hand towards the East, and send an Armada against Japan. The Empire, torn asunder by factions, her born leaders puppets in the hands of designing courtiers, lay at the mercy of any invader with faith to venture on the enterprise, when, in 1260, Nichiren published his patriotic essay, the *Ankokuron*, or Essay on the Tranquilization of the Country, which he dedicated to the Hojo Regent Tokiyori. Nichiren was banished to Izu for his audacity, but his words took effect. When the dreaded Mongols came they found Japan prepared.

Nichiren had begun his monastic life as a student in a Shingon Temple. He had then spent many years in study and wandering, sometimes at Kyoto, or Hieizan, sometimes at Nara, sometimes at Kamakura. He had read all the

Sutras, and sat at the feet of many teachers, of all sects and denominations. He found himself in the end profoundly disappointed. Not only did he find that the results of Buddhism, as seen in the actual conditions of the country, were bad; but he came slowly also to the further conclusion that the true meaning of Buddhism had not yet been set before the world. The two discoveries went together in his mind. The country was in a bad state because its religious system was defective: if the religion could be made perfect, the condition of the country would improve: the time had now come to proclaim the perfect Law of the Tathāgata, and he was the man to establish the perfect Religion, neither the Small Vehicle, nor the Large, but the One, True Vehicle.*

As soon therefore as he was recalled from his banishment to Izu, he at once commenced an onslaught on the other sects who had brought about the trouble by their worldliness and heresies. The Nara sects, of the One Sutra and One Commentary, had signed their surrender, as it were, and lost their influence. They had allowed the identification of Vairoçana Buddha with Amaterasu the Shinto goddess of the Sun, they had made a compact with the Emperor Kwammu, which led to the despatch of Kōbō and Dengyō, as commissioners to form a new State Buddhism, they had lost their independence and consequently could not be expected to do much for their country's good. The followers of Kōbō had weakened their influence by placing mantras and incantations above the weightier matters of the Law: the monks of the Tendai had given in to the world, and had encouraged the constant resignations of men in authority, which made all stable government impossible: the monks of the Jōdo and Shinshu sects had followed suit and become as worldly as the Tendai, from which they came out: and the Zen, with their claims to a direct personal revelation to each believer who seeks after the Truth by the way of meditation,

* I believe I have been able to trace this One Vehicle in the Naassenes described in Book V. of the Philosophumena.

could only be described as possessed of a Devil, so proud and self-conceited were they.

None, said Nichiren, had understood the true nature of Buddhism, for none really understood the Person and Nature of its Founder. The Shingon placed Vairoçana on their Altars, and the Shinshu, Amida : the one an alien deity, foreign to Buddhism, the other, an Imperfect Buddha imperfectly apprehended by Faith alone, instead of by Faith and a changed heart,—a teaching so dangerous in Nichiren's eyes that he proclaimed that each several invocation of Amida's name would give the misguided worshipper a re-birth, not in the Pure Land, but in the lowest and hottest of the hells.

Nichiren's scathing denunciations of contemporary Buddhism brought him into trouble with the Regent. He was even condemned to death, so relentless were his enemies, and Japanese artists have often depicted the scene of his marvellous deliverance on the sands between Kamakura and Enoshima, when the raised sword of the executioner was stayed by a thunderbolt. But danger could not turn him from his purpose, and having, by his criticisms, cleared the foundations of religion, he proceeded to construct a new superstructure.

Five things are necessary, said Nichiren, for the promulgation of the true religion. There must be (i) a knowledge of the exact personal teachings of the man who founded it, (ii) a knowledge of the nature of man and mankind, (iii) the right time, (iv) the right place and (v) a knowledge of the past religious experience of the nations, as well as a clear foresight of the future. All these he found united in his own time and person. It had been made clear to him, and he felt himself commissioned to proclaim it to the world, that the whole of Shaka's personal teachings were to be found in the Hokekyo, the scripture which taught with unfailing certainty the true Nature of man : the Age of Mappō, of the destruction of the Law, of the decay of Faith, demanded a teacher to put life into the the dying embers, and Japan, where the Mahāyāna had been taught in its fullness, was the country in which the

advance could best made from the Great Vehicle to the One True Vehicle, and that advance could best be made in accordance with past experiences and future hopes, the medicines to heal the sicknesses of the age being administered only after a most careful diagnosis of the religious and moral symptoms.

In the *Hokekyō*, said Nichiren, is to be found the true Sakyamuni as revealed by himself before his death. He is not, as the small Vehicle teaches in the *Agama* Sutras, a mere man born in Central India, who went about doing good, and teaching the simple elements of a simple faith to men and women entangled in mundane affairs. Neither is he the superhuman Buddha, sixteen feet in bodily stature, whose footprints may be seen, *e.g.* on the great stone in front of the Zojoji Temple in Shiba Park. Sakyamuni, according to Nichiren, is more than this. He is the Great Self of the Universe—the Immanent God, if we may adopt the language of modern speculation. He is "above all, through all:" man in Him is partaker of the Divine Nature, and not man alone—every rock, every sea, every planet, the Sun, the Moon, and the most distant of constellations, all are manifestations of the Buddha Nature, all are parts and parcels of Sakyamuni. There have been many Buddhas and many Buddha-fields, but these are but partial Buddhas, each exhibiting but a portion of the whole Truth. In Sakyamuni, unbounded, uncreated, self-enlightened from all eternity, and in Him alone, dwells the whole "fullness" of the Buddha Nature.

The Christian Theologian will gaze with astonishment when he first realizes the main thought underlying the teachings of Nichiren. "These," he will exclaim, "are the speculations of the Alexandrian Gnostics, of Basilides and his crew. These are the problems which exercised the mind of St. Paul when he wrote to the Colossians and Ephesians, and which prompted the Author of the Fourth Gospel to pen (may we not say, under Divine Guidance?) his great Prologue about the "Word which is from the beginning and which is God." The surprised exclamation of the theologian would not be so

very far from the Truth. I hope to be able to show that there is a good deal of connection, historical as well as logical, between the speculations of Alexandrian Divines and the doctrines enunciated by Nichiren.

The earliest known translation into Chinese of the Hokekyō, belongs to the period of the Western Tsin dynasty, A. D. 265-316, though the best version, that of Jnànagupta and Dharmagupta dates from as late as A. D. 601. Kumarajiva's translation dates from between 384-417. All these versions, it will be seen, are posterior even to the age of Manes: the original book must, however, have existed in Manes' time, and must have been a very well known book to have so many versions made of it. The earliest translator, Dharmaraksha, was a Chinaman, descended from a *Yuetchi*, a branch of the Scythian family: its great translator, Kumarajiva, though born in India (at Kharacar) was educated at Kubha (Kabul). The book is therefore in all probability, not of Indian origin, but Sakyan or Scythian, and I hope in this lecture to be able of throw some real light on its origin.

The book itself consists of two parts of unequal value. These are described by the late Abbot Kobayashi of the Nichiren College, Takanawa, Tokyo, as the "Original" and the "Subordinate" Sections, and Professor Kern of Leiden, in this Preface to the English Translation of the Sutra (Vol. XXI of S.B.E.) says that the "Original" portion comprises chapter I-XX, with the epilogue; the "Subordinate," or later sections, being chapters XXI-XXVI of the book as it now stands. Thus the Original book consisted of XXI chapters, of which one is in some versions divided into two, a fact which it is well to bear in mind. We shall come back to it presently.

The "Subordinate" portions give the impression of consisting of a number of independent tracts loosely connected with and appended to the main volume. Some chapters, are mere rubbish, as for instance, that on *Spells*, which gives a number of magical formulæ intended to protect the preachers from

the dangers of their mission. The chapter on the Many Sided One (the so-called Fumonbon) gives the fullest account we have of the doctrine of Avalokitesvara, the male Kwannon (1) and there is a chapter which possibly brings us very near to the New Testament. It will be remembered that St. Paul had but little use for the man who "gave his body to be burned" and had no charity. An instance had occurred at Athens of a "Samanæan" (i. e. sramana) who actually did thus give his body to the flames, and it is supposed that St. Paul had this instance in his mind when he wrote. (2 . In chap. XXII of the Hokekyo (S.B.E. vol. XXI, p. 370) an instance is given of a Bodhisattva who did this, and his self-immolation is praised as "real heroism," as "the real worship of the Tathàgata, the real worship of the Law." And, significantly enough, there

(1) *The Male Kwannon.* The deity Kwannon, or Avalokitesvara, is always male in India, and nearly always female in China and Japan. The Taoists tell a story, which I only mention to condemn, that the female Kwan-yin is really a deified prostitute whom a Chinese Prince raised to the rank of a deity. Kwannon really represents the Mercy of God, which assumes many shapes and appears in many incarnate forms. I have a little catechism, entitled *Kwannon no kudoku* which says that Kwannon has been incarnate many times in many different forms, sometimes as a man, sometimes as a woman, sometimes even as an animal, and that the so-called *Roku-Kwannon*, or six-shaped Kwannon, represents the Mercy of Buddha in the six spheres of existence. The same Catechism states that Socrates, Christ, Mahomet, Kant are all to be looked upon as Incarnations of Kwannon, a statement which would agree with Mrs. Besant's theory that at the Baptism "Jesus walked out of his Body and Buddha walked in." The theory was not unknown to the early Christian Fathers. Irenæus (e.g. adv. Haer. i. chap. 21) discusses the question of the bisexual nature of God as taught by some of the Gnostic heretics, who looked upon Christ as only one in a series of successive incarnations. It seems to me that the chapter on the "many-sided one" in the Hokekyo, and the discussions on heresies in Irenaeus are calculated to throw a very great deal of light on one another.

(2) The man's name was *Zarmanochegas.* He was a member of an Indian Mission sent to Rome in B.C. 37 by *Porus*, who represented (so he said) a coalition of native Kings annious for the Support and friendship of Augustus. This man voluutarily burned himself to death at Athens, where a monument was erected to his memory, which Strabo the geographer describes, and which St. Paul must have seen. Edmunds and Anezaki, in their *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, think that the man cannot have been a Buddhist, because Buddhism forbids suicide. But the Hokekyō is against them on this point, for the religious self immolation is (l.c) very highly commended. It seems possible that this Indian Mission to Augustus may be of great value in fixing the date of the Mahāyāna. Porus evidently appealed for help to Augustus, and we know that a few years later Kanishka's armies advanced as far as Benares, the King of which was forced to give hostages, of whom Asvaghosha was one.

are no traces in the whole narration of what St. Paul has taught us to consider as " charity " in the true sense of the word.

The Original Portion is a strangely composite work, a collection of documents, not very skilfully strung together into a sort of Buddhist Apocalypse.

Part of it is prose and part verse, prose and verse repeating each other, so that the whole contents of the book are duplicated. It is impossible to decide which is the earlier, the prose or the verse, but the fact of there being both versions points to a late date of composition, a point emphasized by the allusion (on p. 45) to " Sutras and Stanzas, legends, birth-stories, prodigies and parables " as part of the Preacher's stock-in-trade. Other indications of a late date are to be found in the frequent allusions to the writing and copying of this Sutra (the Ceylon books were not reduced to writing much before the middle of the first Century B. C.), as well as in the commendation given (50) in those who made statues of the Tathàgata and honoured them with worship. It was apparently after Alexander's invasion, and from the Greeks, that the Indians learned the arts of sculpture and building in stone.

The book is ushered in, as it were, with apologies. It is a Dharmapariyaya (Gospel) which will meet with opposition in the world (17), it has been rejected during the life-time of the Tathàgata (219), five thousand monks went away from Sakyamuni's lecture when first they heard it preached (38): the heretical monks of the Small Vehicle accused the writer of forgery and plagiarism (260), and the rejection will assuredly be greater after the Tathàgata has gone to his rest (219).

The book falls roughly into four parts.

1. Introductory. A statement of the Gospel to be announced. Sakyamuni is the Self-born Buddha, begotten before all worlds, and what he offers to man is not Nirvana, not extinction, but the endless life which consists in Perfect Enlightenment. The doctrine may seem a new one to the reader, it is defended by a series of parables. The potter

makes many vessels, each has different uses, though all are of the same clay; the rain comes down upon a garden, the water is all the same, yet each plant takes the special nourishment it requires. An anxious father sees his children in danger of conflagration: he coaxes them out of the burning house by offers of toys, suited to their individual tastes. When they come to claim his promise they find that they have all received the same. Another father finds his long-lost son among beggars and thieves. He does not, however, make himself known at once. He engages him as a hired servant, promotes him step by step as he shows himself fit, and in the end proclaims him as the Crown Prince of his kingdom. So, to put the thing into Christian parlance, the potter has power to fashion the clay as he pleases, souls saved are as "brands plucked from the burning," God's rain comes on the just and the unjust, and each derives from it the blessing he needs: the labourers in the vineyard each get their penny, the Prodigal is restored when he has come to himself.

2. The Promises. The doctrine laid down in the Introductory Chapters is given a personal application. To each one of the principal hearers is the promise made of future Enlightenment and Perfection. Next comes a wonderful section which I call,

3. The Presence. Whilst Sakyamuni is speaking, there descends from heaven a *Stupa* (3), a shrine, not unlike the Tabernacle which may be seen over the Altar in Roman Catholic Churches, and from the Shrine a voice, expressive of satisfaction and happiness. "This is my body," says the Tathàgata, pointing to it, "and whenever this Gospel of mine is preached, my Body will be present" (pp. 227-228). The stupa emits a seven-fold light of seven precious substances: it contains the remains of the Buddha Prabbutaratna (Jap. Tahō), who is "dead yet speaketh," and who is identified with Sakyamuni. Strange to say, in another part of the book, there is

(3) Clement of Alexandria mentions *Buddha* and also *Stupa*. This is a small point yet it shows that these things were known in Alexandria.

another Buddha (p. 173) also identified with Sakyamuni. This Buddha preached what Gotama preached, Prabhutaratna had preached the higher Buddhism of the Mahāyāna doctors, those truths which were contemporary with and not far different from the teachings of Him whose words are recorded for us in the Synoptic Gospels, and now, the self-born, Eternal Buddha, preaching the One Vehicle, promises his Presence to his followers, and the Eternal Life which is the same thing as Perfect Enlightenment.

4. The Concluding Vision. Preachers full of zeal, and armed with divine protection go forth to preach the new Gospel. They dwell in the "abode of the Tathāgata" which is "charity," wear his "robe", which is "sublime forbearance," and occupy his "pulpit,"—indifference to all things human or transient (p. 222). As a result of their labours a multitude "which no man can number" gathers around the Tathāgata, headed by four Bodhisativa Maha-satva, four "living creatures", who are the latter day attendants of the Eternal and Everlasting Buddha. Presently the curtain drops, and the Apocalypse is ended.

The imagery of this extraordinary book is all Indian, absolutely fantastical, and tediously prolix; but the underlying thought is all Christian and Alexandrian. The thoughts are common to all the Alexandrian writers, to Basilides, to Clement, to Origen. At every turn we are reminded of the New Testament, not in word coincidences, but in ideas and underlying thoughts. I believe that I have reason for identifying it as a book that was known to some at least of the Greek fathers of the second and third centuries A. D. and that it was the work of an Indian Buddhist residing at Alexandria some time during the first century A.D., or at least written by one that was acquainted with Alexandrian thought and by him brought to Alexandria.

I have already in my first lecture noted the existence in the 3rd century of our era of four Buddhist books which lay at the basis of the teachings of Manichaeus. These books

hailed from Alexandria, at any rate they were found in Alexandria by Terebinthus who was afterwards called Buddha. Alexandria, we know, swarmed with Indian merchants, especially after the reign of Tiberius when the Romans first learned the art of navigating the Red Sea by observing the prevalent winds. We have found traces of the doctrines of Basilides in the peculiar God of the secret Shingon—*Abara-ka kusu*—and we know that there must have been a good deal of interchange of thought between India and Egypt. Scythianus, the original author, may well have been *Sakyamuni*, the supposed speaker of the Hokekyō, or some Sakyan Buddhist: the term Dharmapariyaya, which so constantly appears, might very well be translated by "*Gospel*", which is one of the names of the Scythianus books. (4) It is a Gospel with nothing in it of the Gospel, as Cyril of Jerusalem says, and yet pregnant with Christian ideas turned aside to Buddhist uses: it is as Epiphanius notes, Aristotelian and Pythagorean, a statement which is true, in spite of the fact that India also held the view here enumerated; for Aristotle taught the immanence of God, and Pythagoras, the doctrine of constant re-births according to *Karma;* all internal evidence goes for its having been composed during the early years of the Christian era, that period of decay and confusion, which witnessed (5) the birth agonies of Christianity on the one hand, of Mahāyāna Buddhism on the other. We

(4) The Scythianus books are mentioned by Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Epiphanius. The first two were residents in Palestine, and possibly had good authority for what they said. In the July-April numbers of the Journal A. S. Gt. Britain for 1907 there are articles by Mr. Kennedy which show the close connection, tradal and intellectual, that existed between Alexandria and India at this period. Alexandria was the home of Neo-Pythagoreanism, and the spurious "Theology" of Aristotle exercised a great influence upon neo-Platonist and Neo-Pythagorean philosophers.

(5) The middle of the first century A. D., was a period of great natural calamities and troubles in Europe, a subject on which Farrar has a very excellent chapter in his "Early days of Christianity." The same was the case in Asia. For instance, the Oxus river violently changed its course during the century and desolated an immense area of country in so doing. This was but one instance out of many. The period was also marked by conflicts of Scythian invaders of India with Hindu patriots, between whom the Buddhist monks fared badly.

can see that it is an attempt to bring about harmony between conflicting schools of Buddhism by proclaiming the perfect Buddha and his perfect Vehicle, as against the lower teachings of the Smaller and Greater Vehicles, by means of elements borrowed from Christianity. We can understand that its missionary Terebinthus may well have wished to enlarge its scope from pagan-Gnosticism to Christian-Gnosticism by incorporating into it more of Christian elements, and have gone to Jerusalem to confer about it. We can understand that the Rulers of the Church rejected with scorn a Gospel which left out the Cross, and taught an immanent God and a series of reincarnations of the Saviour. And so we may well suppose that the Saddharmapundarika lay fallow in the library of Terebinthus until the boy Cubricus found it and made thereof the basis of the Manichaean heresy.* The book that Cubricus used was probably not written in Sanskrit; the Sanskrit text, as I have pointed out, is a very composite work, probably of later origin; but it is a significant fact that like our present Hokekyō, it consisted of 22 books. The subsidiary chapters in the former may possibly be portions of the other books which Manes found, and which have been tagged on to the main volume.

The disciples of Nichiren Daibosatsu, believe him to have been a re-incarnation of Jōgyōbosatsu, the first of the four Great Ones whom we saw standing at the head of the multitude which no man can number before the throne of Sakyamuni the Eternal.

This brings me to the end of my lectures on the Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism. I fear I have led you very far a-field in my meanderings but that could not be helped with the subject I have chosen. I have spoken little about the Indian side of Buddhism,—there are many workers in that field—nor (for similar reasons) have I said much about

* Possibly it lay at the basis of the Gnostic heresy which, the author of the Philosophumena says, was originated at Serae Parthorum in A.D. 101. Anshikao, the Buddhist pioneer in China (A.D. 147) does not mention the book, but he translates another book which is based on it.

China. I have gone to other fields, untouched as yet, and have tried to show how the Buddhism which we see to-day in this country has its points of contact with Central Asia and Persia, with Babylon, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. I may be fanciful—that is the privilege of the Welshman,—but at least I have the comfort of knowing that scholars in England Germany, America, are working at the same problems and coming to almost identical conclusions. I have not attempted to conceal my own personal predilections and beliefs—why should I?—they are not unworthy of a scientific scholar. In presenting my thoughts to you, I hope I have not been unmindful in the respect due to this Society as one that exists for impartial study and research, and I trust that I may have given a new and fruitful direction to Buddhist studies in this country, without giving unnecessary offence by the boldness of my speculations.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN: GENERAL MEETING.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms at No. 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, on Wednesday, Dec. 11, 1907. In the absence of the President, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, the Vice-President for Tokyo, presided. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read.

New Members.

The Recording Secretary reported that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Thos. Harrington, Esq., British Consulate, Yokohama; Julius Iavdinsky, St. Petersburg, Russia; P. H. Dodge, Esq., Mikado Club, Kanda-ku, Tokyo; Rev. H. B. Benninghoff, 30 Tsukiji, Tokyo; Rev. J. A. Welbourn, 3 Yayoi-cho, Hongo-ku, Tokyo; Rev. R. H. Walke, 53 Tsukiji, Tokyo; Dr. R. B. Teusler, 27 Tsukiji, Tokyo; P. A. Jay, Esq., American Embassy, Tokyo; Miss Nutter, 16 Goban-cho, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo; P. K. Condict, Esq., Nippon Electric Co., Tokyo; and Capt. Oswald T. Tuck, Esq., 5 Tamura-cho, Shiba-ku.

The Recording Secretary also read a letter from the President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, expressing his regret at being unable to attend the meeting and cordially inviting the Society to meet at any time at the British Embassy.

Annual Reports.

As the General Meeting in December is the regular time for the Annual Meeting, the usual business of such an occasion was taken up. First the Corresponding Secretary read the following:

Report of the Council of the Asiatic Society for the Year 1907.

During the past year the Council has met eleven times and the Society has held ten general meetings on the dates, and with papers read, as follows:—

Jan. 23—"Some Problems of the Textual History of the Buddhist Scriptures," by Prof. M. Anesaki;

Feb. 20th—"Japanese Patent Medicines," by W. M. Royds, Esq., and "Japanese Medical Folk-lore," by Prof. E. W. Clement, M.A.;

March 20th—"The Second Buddhistic Virtue, Non-stealing," by Rev. J. L. Atkinson, D.D.;

May 22nd—"Notes on the Japanese Drama," by Prof. Arthur Lloyd, M.A.;

June 26th—"Dazai on Food and Wealth," by R. J. Kirby, Esq.;

Oct. 16th—"Dazai on Food and Wealth," by R. J. Kirby, Esq.;

Nov. 13th—"Manichaeism and Kobo;"

Nov. 20th—"Daruma and the Canon;"

Nov. 27th—"Tendai and Shinshiu;"

Dec. 11th—"Nichiren and the Hokekyo," the last four by Prof. A. Lloyd, M.A., his general subject for all being, "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism."

Of these several papers, those by Mr. Royds, Prof. Clement and Dr. Atkinson have already appeared in the Transactions of the Society, together forming Part 1 of Vol. XXXV. It is arranged that Dr. Anesaki's

paper shall appear as part 2 of this same volume, under the title, "The Four Agamas in Chinese of Japanese Buddhism," and part 3 is to consist of a paper, now in press, which was received from F. V. Dickins, Esq., of Sneed, Wilts, England, on the subject of The Makura-kotoba of Primitive Japanese Verse." Mr. Dickins' contribution was not read before the Society, being of such nature as to make its presentation at a general meeting impracticable. Its great value as a work of reference, however, and as a basis of further research, was recognized and the thanks of the Society were extended to the author for his material addition to the Transactions of the current year.

The appearance of this paper by Mr. Dickins will be somewhat delayed, owing to the author's wish that the proofs be sent to him in England for a final reading. Meanwhile Part 2 will be brought out; and, following it, the paper by Prof. Lloyd on the Japanese Drama and those by Mr. Kirby on Dazai will be issued as Part 4. Prof. Lloyd's lectures on "Formative Elements in Japanese Buddhism" will he printed together in the form of a supplement. The Council is happy in having this valuable series of papers to report for the year 1907, as constituting its 35th volume. Special mention may properly be made of the contribution by Prof. Lloyd on Formative Elements, in view of the fact that the author was, on June 26, appointed to represent the Society at the Fifteen Session of the *Congrès International des Orientalistes*, to open at Copenhagen in August 1908, and that the lectures will serve as a means of bringing the society and Prof. Lloyd prominently before students of oriental matters on that occasion.

The Council has further to report that certain numbers of the Transactions have had to be reprinted, as authorized prior to the date of the last annual meeting of the Society, viz. Vol. VIII., Part 3 and Vol. X., Part 1; and that Vol. XIV. Part 1, and Vol. II, have also been reprinted.

In addition to the above invitation to send delegates to the International Congress of Orientalists, representation from the Society was invited for the Jubilee meeting of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, held at Shanghai on Oct. 16th. It was not possible to respond otherwise than by cordial acknowledgment of the courtesy extended. The Society had the good fortune, however, to be represented, and by Prof. Clay McCauley, in the Seventh International Congress of Zoologists, meeting in Bostou, U.S.A. in July.

The Council has had occasion to extend the thanks of the Society to three gentlemen, Messrs. J. B. Sleman Jr., and S. W. Woodward of Washington, D.C. and John Hyde, Esq., of Tokyo, for a contribution of ten *yen* each, to go towards purchasing for the library books and mss. relative to the history of Buddhism.

The membership roll of the Society has been considerably extended during the year. Four members only have resigned, Major Cheyne, Capt. North, Rev. C. T. Warren and Rev. H. S. Jeffreys, and two have died, V. W. Helm Esq. and H. C. Pigott Esq.; but the following additions have been made:

(Residents) Rev. H. B. Benninghoff, Geo. Bulkeley, Esq., F. E. Bray, Esq., J. K. Caldwell, Esq, H. Carew, Esq., Chas. L. Chandler, Esq., Rev. H. E. Coleman, P. K. Condict, Esq., Chas. P. Cushman, Esq., J. E. de Becker, Esq., P. H. Dodge, Esq., Geo. Haley, Esq., Thos. Harrington, Esq., Rev. F. W. Heckelman, P. H. Jay, Esq., Rev. W. D. L. Kingsbury, Miss Nutter, John Babbitt, Esq., H. T. Rice, Esq., C. V. Sale, Esq., R. B. Teusler, M.D., Rev. D. Thompson, D.D., Capt. O. T. Tuck, Rev. R. A. Walke, Rev. J. A. Welbourn, and A. A. Williamson, Esq.; and (Non-Residents) E. J. Allen, Esq., Prof. H. P. Beach, E. A. Filene, Esq., Mrs. John Flournoy, Sampatrar Gaikward, Mrs. R. C. Harrison, George I. Hein, Esq., Hon. John Hyde, Julius Javdinsky, Esq., R. J. Johnston, Esq., J. T. Lincoln, Esq., G. R. Lukens, Esq., Mrs. D. R. Noyes (Life), J. B. Sleman, Esq., J. Struthers, Esq., Rev. E. W. Thwing, Rev. G. B. Smyth, D.D. and S. W. Woodward, Esq.

The Treasurer read the following report :—

CASH STATEMENT FROM JAN. 1ST TO NOV. 23, 1907.

CASH DR.

To Balance from 1906	2,853.20
„ Subscriptions	672.26
„ Entrance Fees	150.00
„ Life Subscriptions	90.00
„ Transactions	1,196.61
„ Bank interest	62.46
„ Donations	30.00
„ Librarian	37
Total	5,054.90

CASH DR.

By Treasurer, Postage, etc.	13 28
„ Corrs. Secretary...	9.00
„ Donation, Bud. Books	30.00
„ Librarian	361.60
„ Library...	40.79
„ Insurance	35.00
„ Printing, binding, etc.	1,708.97
„ Mr. Khine	100.00
„ Rent	315.00
„ Secretary, Mr. Clement	23 00
„ Secretary, Mr. Vickers	7.05
„ Balance	2,411.21
Total	5,054.90

E. and O. E.
R. J. KIRBY,
Hon. Treas.

The Librarian read the following reports :—

As Librarian, I beg to report that during the financial year now closing the sales of Transactions have amounted to *yen* 1,384.54 as against *yen* 988 last year, and that there seems to be an increasing interest in our Transactions.

I have reported at each meeting of the Society as to the Books and Exchanges which have reached the Library, so that at the present meeting I have only to report on the books which have come in since our meeting in October last. These will be found in a list annexed.

A catalogue of the books on our shelves has been made and can be consulted by the members, new locks have been placed on the cupboards, the books have been arranged on their shelves, and many sets of Transactions from other Societies have been bound. One consignment of books on a subject outside of the Society's interests have been sent, in accordance with previous practice, to the Library of the Keiogijiku University, and another is ready to be despatched shortly.

Three parts of Vol. XXXIV. of our Transactions have been sent out during the year and the first part of Vol. XXXV.

I append a list of Transactions in Stock, from which it will be seen that the following parts will have to be reprinted shortly if we are to continue supplying our members and the public with complete sets of Transactions, viz X part 2, XI parts 1 and 2, and XIII part I.

Transactions in Stock, December 11, 1907.

Vol.		Vol.	
I.	38	XVIII. 1	86
II.	390	XVIII. 2	161
III.	74	XIX. 1	158
III. Supp.	273	XIX. 2	135
IV.	120	XIX. 3	160
V. 1	120	XX. 1	39
V. 2	133	XX. 2	160
VI. 1	116	XX. Supp. 1	150
VI. 2	154	XX. 2	200
VI. 3	173	XX. 3	185
VII. 1	163	XX. 5	210
VII. 2	150	XXI.	165
VII. 3	182	XXII. 1	175
VII. 4	150	XXII. 2	143
VIII. 1	63	XXII. 3	160
VIII. 2	280	XXIII.	209
VIII. 3	285	XXIII. Supp	200
VIII. 4	282	XXIV.	85
IX. 1	267	XXIV. Supp.	164
IX. 2	275	XXV.	207
IX. 3	270	XXVI.	215
X. 1	300	XXVII. 1	215
X. 2	8	XXVII. 2	215
X. Supp. with Index	412	XXVII. 3	524
X. Supp. Index only	486	XXVII. 4	245
XI. 1	15	XXVII. Supp.	260
XI. 2	4	XXVIII.	213
XII. 1	189	XXIX. 1	120
XII. 2	44	XXIX. 2	266
XII. 3	33	XXX. 1	261
XII. 4	179	XXX. 2	247
XIII. 1	3	XXX. 3	185
XIII. 2	40	XXXI.	106
XIV. 1	293	XXXII.	185
XIV. 2	26	XXXIII. 1	186
XV. 1	30	XXXIII. 2	183
XV. 2	21	XXXIV. 1	173
XVI. 1	75	XXXIV. 2	186
XVI. 2	30	XXXIV. 3	146
XVI. 3	102	XXXIV. 4	186
XVII. 1	90	XXXV. 1	175
XVII. 2	470	General Index	1200

BOOKS ETC., RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR.

Nightless City, Saved by the Judge, Mongol Invasion, Feudal Kamakura; presented by J. E. de Becker Esq.
Balzer: Architektur der Kulturbauten Japans.
Proceedings Royal Society, Edinburgh XXVI. 6.
Proceedings Royal Society, London, A 79, No. A 527.
Bulletin, Mus. Comp. Zool. Harvard, L. 6, 7.
Bulletin, Amer. Geographical Society. Feb., March, April, 1907.
Bulletin, de l'Ecole Française de l'Extreme Orient. Vol. VI. 1, 2.
Bulletin, Anthropologische Gessellschaft in Wien, XXXVII, 1.
Bulletin, U. S. Nat. Museum XXXI. 1907.
Bulletin, U. S. Nat. Herbarium, X. 3, (with maps.)
Acta Soc. Scientiarum Fennicae, XXXII.

Acta Soc. Scientiarum Fennicae, (oversigt) XLVII.
Acta Soc. Scientiarum Fennicae, (bijdrag) 53.
Washington Academy of Science, VIII. 4.407-486. (Contents and Index.)
Geological Survey of India, XXXIV. pt. 4.
Geological Survey of Canada (maps.)
Journal: Royal Geographical Society, March, April, 1907.
Journal: Royal Geographical (Lisbon) Nov., Dec., 1906.
Journal: American Oriental Society, XXII. (2) XII.
Journal: Asiatique Serie X. Vol. VIII. 1 and 2.
Journal: Société Anthropol. Paris V., VIII. 3.
Journal: Japan Society Vol. VI. pt. 2.
Journal: Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Vols. XVIII, XIX.
Rijks Ethnographisch Museum to Leiden, Report 1906.
Smithsonian Institute. Reports 1905, 1906.
Bataviaasch Genootschap. Notulen, XILV. 2, 3, 4.
Bataviaasch Genootschap. Verhandelingen, LVI. 5.
Bataviaasch Genootschap. De Compagnie's Kamer.
Bodyoul. by Miloué (Musee Guimet.)
Instituto Geologico de Mexico. No. XXII.
Annotationes Zoological Japon. VI. pt. 2.
University of Colorado Studies. VI. 2.
XXXII Annual Report of the Minister of the State for Education.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift. Feb., March, April, 1907.
Science of Man. Feb., 1907.
Chinese Recorder. March, April, May, 1907.
Revue des Religions LIII. 2, 3, LIV. 1.
Indian Engineer. April 1907.
Jinjo Shogakko Tokuhon (Jap. Text, Russian Transcription, Vocabulary, etc.), presented by Prof. Posdnieff.
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. December, 1906.
American Geographical Society. November, 1906.
Chinese Recorder. January, 1907.
Washington Academy of Sciences. December, 1906.
Royal Society of Edinburgh. Vol. XXVI. pt. 5.
Royal Society of London Biological Sciences. December, 1906.
Royal Dublin Society Economic Proceedings. Vol. 1 pt. 8. Scientific Proceedings. Vol. XI. 10 pt. 62.
Vesterreichische Monatschift fur den Orient. November, 1906.
Al. Moktabas. (Cairo) Zeitscheif der deutschen Morgen landischen Gesellscheft. Vol. LX. pt. 3., 1906.
Meteorological Observations of Scientific Society of Finland. Hels. 1907.
Records of Geol. Survey of India, xxxv. pt. 1.
Royal Society, Biological Section, B. 79, B. 531.
Bataviaasch Genootschap, Tijdschrift, XLIX. 3. 4.
Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, LXI. i.
Chinese Recorder, June.
Unis. of Colorado Studies, IV. 3.
Nova Scotian Institute of Science, xi. 2.
Lisbon Geogr. Soc. January, February, 1907.
Japon et Belgique, April, 1907.
Science of Mam, March, April, 1907.
Bulletin of Imp. Russian Ac. of Sciences, 1907, Nos. 1—9.
" " " Geog. Socy., vol. viii.
" " " " " China and Cham.
"Japan Mail."
Ethnographic Survey of India, 2 vols.
American Chemical Journal, May, 1907.

Royal Society's Transactions A. 79, A. 528, 529.
" " B. 79, B. 530.
Oesterreichische Monatsschift, April, 1907.
U. S. Museum Bulletin 56.
Journal Am. Georgr. Society, May, 1907.
" Royal Geogr. Soc., May, 1907.
Société Geogr. de Neuchatel, xvii., 1906.
Journal Anthropological Institute vol. XXXVII.
Royal Asiatic Society, Journal, April, 1907.
" Sublin Society, Economic, vol. i. 9.
" " Scientific, vol. ix. series II. Nos. 4. 5.
" " " vol. N. S, 13, 14, 15.
" Society of Edinburgh, Vol. XXVII. part 1.

Prof. Lloyd, as Librarian of the Society, read the following report on "Some Recent Additions to our Library":—

1. Mr. John Grant, publisher, of Edinburgh, has presented the Library with a copy in 2 vols. of a new and revised Edition of Keene's *History of India*, revised and brought down to comparatively recent times. The book has been written for students, and is therefore very concise, but each section has a good list appended of authors to be consulted for the particular topic. For Japanese students, or persons studying India, as most of us would do, from a Japanese standpoint, certain sections seem to require a more detailed treatment, and I should like to suggest that a very valuable paper for our Society, if any of our members saw their way to undertaking it, would be to trace the points of contact, if any, in the ancient history of the two countries. Japanese Buddhism is of course derived from India, but there are other points as well, say the legend which identifies Genghis Khan with Yoshitsune, which might be developed with interest and profit.

2. A copy of the 2nd German edition of *Nippon* by Fr. von Siebold has been placed on our shelves.

3. We have received from Vienna, with a request for review and criticism, an extract from the *Transactions* of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Sciences, containing an edition, with Text in Pali and Romaji, Introduction and Notes, of an old Burmese Book *Kajawan*, or the *History of the Kings*. It describes the foundation of the ancient Burmese, or perhaps better Peguen, Kingdom in the beginning of the Christian era, and throws a great deal of light on the chronology of Buddhism. Here again I take leave to suggest that some of our members, who know German and Pali, would be doing good work by giving us a summary of the main facts in some accessible form.

4. From Batavia we get as Vol. XLIX., parts 1 and 2, of the *Transactions* of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, an edition with romanized Text and Dutch Translation and notes of a "Chivalrous Romance" from the island of Sunda. The Romance, which dates from the 15th century of our era, and which like European mediaeval romances, tells of the adventures of a brave knight and his combats with giants, dragons and other monsters, together with the deliverance of helpless beauties from all manner of dangers. Incidentally the book also throws light on the conflict which took place in the Malay Archipelago, when Mohammedanism pushed into the islands and drove out the Hindoo and Buddhist beliefs which had preceded them. The Romance was written in a loose unrhymed verse, and was intended like the Homeric ballads to be recited with musical accompaniments. Illustrations of the musical instruments used for these purposes are given. They are, as far as I could make out, our old friends the *koto* and *samisen*, and those who hold to a Malay descent for a part at least of the Japanese people may perhaps find some confirmation of their theory.

Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, Bulletin V. XXII-XXIV.
" " " " " Report 1906-1907.
" " " " " Studies 1907, Nos. 10.11.
American Geogr. Journal, June, July, August, September, 1907.
American Asiatic Association June, 1907.
Harvard Mus. Com. Zoo. LI. 2.3.4.
U. S. Commissioner of Education Report, 1905, vols 1.2.
U. S. Herbarium, X. 4.
U. S. Department of Agriculture 1904.
Washington Academy of Sciences Vol IX. pp. 1-274.
Geographical Journal (London) May, 1898. November 1900, June, July, August, September, 1907.
Royal Society, B. 79. B. 532.3. A. 79. A. 530-1-2.
Royal Society, Edinburgh, XXVII. pt. 2.
Royal Asiatic Society Vols for 1889-1906, and July, 1907.
R.A.S., Straits Branch, June, 1907.
Royal Society S., Australia, Index, 1896-1906.
Cambridge Antig. Society Vol. 4.
Geological Survey of India Vol. XXXV. 2.
Chinese Recorder July, August, 1907.
Ecole Francaise D. l'Extrême Orient, Tome VI. Vols. 3.4.
Musée Gium, Trans XXII. XXIII.
Journal Asiatique VIII. 3. IX. 1.2.
Historie des Religions LIV. 2 3.
Société d'Anthropologie, S. V. Tome VII, 4.5.6.
Japon et Belgique, June 1907.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift, May—Aug., 1907.
Wiener Anthrop. Ges. Mittle, XXVII. 2.3.
Z. d D. M Ges. LXI. 2.
Städtisch, Mus. Leipzig, No. 1906.
Lisbon Geog. Socy. March-April, 1907.
Mexico, Inst. Geol. 1906.
J. V. Oordt. Origin of the Bantu, presented by Cape Government.
Univ. Col. Studies IV. 4.
Russian Ac. of Sciences, Bulletin 1907, Nos, 12, 13. Do. Bibliotheca Buddhica, IV.
Geol. Survey of India, XXXV. 6.
Museo Nacional Montevideo, III 2.
Lisbon Geogr. Society May, June, 1907.
International Polar Congress, 1906 (Report).
Oesterreichische Monakschrift, Sept., Oct., 1907.
American Oriental Soc. Journal, No. 28.
Royal Society..... A. 79. A. 534.
As. Society of Bengal.
Index to vol. I N. 5) 1905.
vol. II, 1906. No. 4—9.
Memoirs vol. I, 10—19, Supplement.
Washington Ac. Sc. vol. IX. pp. 275—522.
Royal Dublin Society.
Scientific Trans. IX, II, 6.
Scientific Proc. XI, II, 16—20.
Economic Proc. I, 10—II.
Deutsche Morgenlandische Gessellschaft, LXI 3.
Statistik der Stadt Stlassburg, 6.
Ancient Khotan by M. A. Stein. 2 vols. (presented by the Indian Government).

A. LLOYD.
Hon. Lib.

These reports were all accepted.

Election of Officers.

The Society then proceeded to ballot for officers for the ensuing year, with the following result:—

President: H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald; Vice-Presidents: for Tokyo, J. McD. Gardiner, Esq., for Yokohama, J. C. Hall, Esq.; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. T. M. MacNair; Recording Secretaries: for Tokyo Prof. E. W. Clement, for Yokohama, Rev. J. L. Dearing, D.D.; Treasurer, R. J. Kirby, Esq.; Librarian, Prof. Arthur Lloyd, M.A.; Members of Council: B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., J. H. Gubbins, Esq., Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., R. S. Miller, Esq., Prof. E. H. Vickers, Prof. J. T. Swift, Prof. M. Anesaki, Rev. H. St. G. Tucker, Galen M. Fisher, Esq., Prof. K. Florenz.

Prof. Arthur Lloyd then delivered his lecture on "Nichiren and the Hokkekyo."

THE

FOUR BUDDHIST ĀGAMAS

IN CHINESE,

A CONCORDANCE OF THEIR PARTS AND OF THE CORRESPONDING COUNTERPARTS IN THE PĀLI NIKĀYAS.

BY

Prof. M. ANESAKI.

1908.

CONTENTS.

		page.
I.	Introductory Remarks	1
	Table I. The Khuddaka-nikāya in Chinese...	9
II.	Translations of the Āgama Texts into Chinese...	15
	Table II. Works of the translators of the Āgama Texts...	17
III.	Two Minor Collections of the Āgama Texts ...	28
	Table III. A Small Ekottara Collection ...	29
	Table IV. A Small Saṃyukta Collection ...	32
IV.	The Long Collection (長阿含)	35
	Table V. The Chinese Dīrgha Texts and their Pāli Counterparts	36
	Table VI. The Pāli Dīgha Texts and their Chinese Counterparts	38
V.	The Middle Collection (中阿含)	40
	Table VII. The Chinese Madhyama Texts and their Pāli Counterparts ...	40
	Table VIII. The Pāli Majjhima Texts and their Chinese Counterparts ...	61
VI.	The Classified Collection (雜 or 相應阿含) ...	68
	Table IX. The Chinese Saṃyukta Texts and their Pāli Counterparts ...	77
	1. Khandha-vagga (因品)	77
	2. Saḷāyatana-vagga (六入處品) ...	84
	3. Nidāna-vagga (因品)	89
	4. Sāvaka-vagga (弟子品)	96
	5. Magga-vagga (道品)	102
	6. Puggala-vagga (八衆品)	112
	7. Sagātha-vagga (頌偈品)	116
	8. Tathāgata-vagga (如來品)	133
VII.	The Numerical Collection (增一阿含)	139
	Table X. The Chinese Ekottara Texts and their Pāli Counterparts	141

THE FOUR BUDDHIST ĀGAMAS IN CHINESE.

I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The present paper is intended to be an addition to, and a rearrangement of, Nanjio's Catalogue (Oxford, 1883), as regards the texts of the so-called "Four Āgamas." As their titles show, and as it has been supposed, these four collections of Buddhist canonical books correspond to the first four Nikāyas in the Pāli canon; but a detailed examination shows that the two traditions differ so considerably that we can say with certainty that the Chinese Āgamas are not translations of the Pāli Nikāyas. This is quite natural. The analogy of different versions of the Vinaya text in Chinese leads to the belief that each of the different schools of Buddhism has had a tradition of its own. Though they agree in telling us that the Sutta-piṭaka was divided into four (or five) divisions with similar titles, the contents and arrangement of these collections seem not to have been the same (see Chap. V below). It can hardly be said that the present Pāli canon was the only version of Buddha's discourses and that the others are mere deviations from it. For instance, in a Chinese Middle text (No. 185) Kaccāna plays the rôle of one who is versed in analysis of the doctrines, and Moggallāna that of one who possesses supernatural attainments. On the other hand the Pāli text (No. 32 of Majjhima), which is otherwise in agreement with it, does not mention Kaccāna at all, and it is Moggallāna who analyses

and explains the doctrines, i. e. he plays the rôle of Kaccāna. Here we find the Chinese tradition is more in accordance with the statement of the Numerical Collection (Pāli I. 14). In some cases the Chinese text differs from its Pāli counterpart, and that very difference has a corresponding reading in another Pāli version (see my paper on the Sagātha-vagga, *Muséon*, 1905, p. 15). To take another instance, the Chinese Saṃyutta reads always 正受滅 (i. e. *saṁmā-vedanā-nirodha*), instead of *saññā-vedanā-nirodha* of the Pāli Saṃyutta. In this case we cannot say which of these is right and which wrong. Naturally the Chinese versions have more obscurities than the Pāli, but, taken as a whole, neither of the two versions can claim a unique authority. They must have descended from one and the same source and have come to differ from each other in course of time according to the tradition of the schools to which they respectively belonged.

These statements may seem like conclusions too hastily drawn, but the comparisons of the two versions, as shown in outline in this paper, will be found to support these conclusions.

At any rate we have before us two different versions of the Scriptures, agreeing with each other in essential contents and very similar in arrangement and style. Comparisons between them as branches of the same traditions are important for the historical study of the Buddhist Scriptures and of Buddhist religion. And the interest of the comparisons will be increased, if we consider that the differences between the two are not mere differences of readings, but deviations of arrangement. If these deviations are not of the kind that we find in the four synoptic Gospels, or of such a degree as those between the Gospels and the Apocrypha, they are nevertheless more than the various readings of Shakespeare in the Quarto and the Folio present. The two traditions must have been founded upon one and the same source and have been handed down differently in different schools. This statement is further con-

firmed by the the quotations made by later literature from the Āgamas or the Nikāyas. We have many passages of these texts quoted in a work ascribed to Nāgārjuna. They agree sometimes with the Chinese and differ from the Pāli version, and *vice versa*. Nāgārjuna must have had before him a third tradition which differed both from the Pāli and the Chinese.

We have four Āgamas in Chinese as follows:

1. 中阿含 Madhyama-āgama (Middle Collection), one version of which was translated by Dharmanandi in 384-391, now lost, and another by Saṅghadeva in 397-398 (Nanjio, No. 542).
2. 增一阿含 Ekottara-āgama (Numerical Collection), one translated by Dharmanandi in 384-385 (Nanjio, No. 543); and another by Prajñārucī in 397, now lost.
3. 雜阿含 (or more correctly 相應阿含) Saṃyukta-āgama, (Classified Collection), with an incomplete rendering by an unknown translator, about 350-430 (Nanjio, No. 546); and another that is complete by Guṇabhadra, dated 435-443 (Nanjio, No. 544).
4. 長阿含 Dīrgha-āgama (Long Collection), translated by Buddhayaśas in 412-413 (Nanjio, No. 545).*

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* The various traditions deviate considerably in the order of succession in enumerating the four collections. Although we do not know what significance these deviations may possess, they will be noticed here. The plan followed is that of the Ming edition, a catalogue of which is given in Mr. Nanjio's work. The Japanese edition has the order as given below. In Pāli: 1. Dīgha, 2. Majjhima, 3. Saṃyutta and 4. Anguttara; in the Dharmagupta tradition: 1 Dīrgha, 2. Madhyama, 3. Ekottara and 4. Saṃyukta; the Mahāsaṅghika and Mahiśāsaka traditions are the same as the Pāli; the Sarvāstivāda tradition: 1. Saṃyukta, 2. Dīrgha, 3. Madhyama and 4. Ekottara; according to Nāgārjuna: 1. Ekottara, 2. Madhyama 3. Dīrgha and 4. Saṃyukta; according to Asaṅgha: 1. Saṃyukta, 2. Madhyama, 3. Dīrgha and 4. Ekottara. When the fifth, Khuddaka, is mentioned, it always occupies the last place.

Beside these we have over 150 translations, agreeing more or less with parts of these four collections, dating from 148 to 1058. This number will be doubled, if we take into account those lost texts which are mentioned in old catalogues, and which, by their titles, seem to have been parts of these. We do not know whether these all belonged to one school or to various schools, and if the latter which belonged to which. But certainly they come down to us from a school, or schools, different from the Theravāda, which has been the preserver of the present Pāli canon. Fortunately they seem not to deviate from the Theravāda in their essential doctrines.

As to the language, or languages, in which the originals of these texts were written, we cannot draw any definite or certain conclusion. In some cases the transliterations suggest a Sanskrit original, in others a Pāli. For instance, 質多羅 is evidently meant for *citra* and not *citta*; 勒叉那 for *lakṣaṇa* and not *lakkhaṇa*. But, on the other hand, there are many transliterations which decidedly point to Pāli forms. They are such as 娑比宣 for *sāvicci*, 波斯匿 for *Pasenadi*, 支提 for *ceti*, 優竭 for *ugga* etc. Besides these transliterations we have in different readings suggestions as to the language in which the originals were written. There is, for instance, the rendering of the same word into 貪欲, avarice, in one text, and into 銅, copper, in another. This must have occured from the confusion of *ha* with *bha* (*loha* and *lobha*). Or, to take another instance, the name *subha* in Pāli, is read *suka* (or *śuka ?*) or *suva*, i.e. parrot (鸚鵡). I hope to collect more of these instances and thus to get a better idea of the originals. In this paper, however, I shall give the words in their Pāli forms, except in the case of transliterations that are decidedly Sanskritic, and I shall give the names of translators in the Sanskritic forms in which they appear in Nanjio's Catalogue.

My treatise is divided into the following six parts:

1. Translations of the single parts of the Āgama texts into Chinese.

2. Two earlier Collections of the Āgama texts.
3. The Dīrgha texts.
4. The Madhyama texts.
5. The Saṃyukta texts.
6. The Ekottara texts.

In the present paper references to the chinese texts are made from the Japanese edition of 1881-1885, published in Tōkyō. Though we have now another and newer edition, published in Kyōto in 1903-1905, the former is better in its arrangement. The Tōkyō edition (cf. Nanjio's Catalogue p. xxvi) is divided into 40 cases, each case containing 10, or sometimes a few more, volumes; and it is closely printed with 20 lines to the page, each line consisting of 45 Chinese characters. Herewith I give one line, as a specimen, parallel with the Pāli text which exactly agrees with it.

彼 如是 知 如是 見 欲漏
Tassa evaṃ jānato evaṃ passato kāmāsavā

心 解脫 有漏
pi cittaṃ vimuccati, bhavāsavā pi cittaṃ

無明漏 心 解脫
vimuccati, avijjāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccati,

解脫已 解脫(3) 便(1) 知(2)
vimuttasmiṃ vimuttaṃ iti ñānaṃ hoti:

已盡(3) 生(1) 已立(2) 梵行(1)
khiṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ,

所作 已辦 不更 受有
kataṃ karaṇiyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyā

如實(2) 知(1)
ti pajānāti.

Thus we see that nearly four lines of the Pāli text (P. T. S.) make one line of Chinese when they agree exactly with each other.

In verse one pada of eight syllables is generally given in five (or four) ideographs, or divided into two padas, as for example:

Vesāliyaṃ vane viharantaṃ	住毘舍離國(2)	在於毘舍離 住於大林中 (2)
aggam sattassa sambuddhaṃ	大師正等覺(1)	世尊婆伽婆 無上等正覺 (1)
Kokanadā-h-asmi abhivande	拘迦那朱盧	求迦尼婆天 并及於拙羅
Kokanadā Pajunnassa dhitā	稽首恭敬禮	波純提女等 稽首尊足下

In this case the agreement is not quite exact, the shorter version omitting *vane*, "in the forest," and the longer supplying *Bhagavā*. But there are many cases of exact agreement, pada for pada, or word for word. For example:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya,	慎莫念過去
nappaṭikaṃkhe anāgataṃ;	亦勿願未來
yad-atītaṃ pahīnantaṃ	過去事已滅
appattañ-ca anāgataṃ.	未來復未生

Or,

Ārabbhatha nikkhamatha	汝當求出離
yuñjatha buddha-sāsane,	於佛教勤修
dhunātha maccuno senaṃ,	降伏生死軍
naḷāgāram va kuñjaro.	如象摧草舍
Yo imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye	於此法律中
appamatto vihassati,	常修不放逸
pahāya jāti-saṃsāraṃ,	能竭煩惱海
dukkhass' antam karissati.	當盡苦邊際

Or, in some cases, the rendering is too faithful to the original, even sacrificing the intelligibleness of the Chinese.

Pāpaṃ na kariyā vacasā manasā	其心不爲惡
kāyena va kiñcana sabbaloke,	及身口世間
kāme pahāya,	五欲悉虛空
satimā sampajāno,	正智正繫念
dukkhaṃ na sevitha,	不習近衆苦
anattha-saṃhitam.	非義和合者

Many other cases of such parallelisms will be found in my work, 現身佛と法身佛, i.e. *Rūpakāyaç-ca Dharma-*

kāyaç-ca Buddhasya Tathāgatasya, copies of which I have sent to some European and American libraries.

In the Japanese Tripiṭaka, already referred to in this paper, the Āgama texts fill two cases (numbers 辰 and 昃, i. e. XII and XIII). Excluding the text descriptive of the *lokadhātus* and some apocrypha, we have 15 volumes of Āgama texts. And in addition to these we have some minor texts in case 宿, i. e. XIV. In these the extents of the collections and of the parts translated separately from them appear as follows:

1.	增一 Ekottara (昃 I-III),	3 vols.,	241 × 2	pages.
2.	Single parts, (昃 IV),	1 vol.,	44 × 2	,,
3.	中 Madhyama (昃 V-VII),	3 vols.,	318 × 2	,,
4.	Single parts (昃 VIII),	1 vol.,	89 × 2	,,
5.	長 Dīrgha (昃 IX),*	1 vol.,	92 × 2	,,
6.	Single parts (昃 X),	1 vol.,	99 × 2	,,
7.	雜 Saṃyukta (辰 II-IV),	3 vols.,	315 × 2	,,
8.	Single parts (辰 V-VI),†	2 vols.,	124 × 2	,,
		15 vols.	1322 × 2	,,

Thus we have nearly 1000 × 2 pages of the four principal collections, corresponding approximately to 4000 pages of the Pāli Text Society's editions.

Finally, I shall say something about the traditions of the various schools as regards the compilation and arrangement of their respective canons. These traditions are found in the Vinaya texts of those four schools. Beside these we have two different traditions of a similar kind in later Mahāyānist works, one ascribed to Nāgārjuna and another to Asaṅga. They are found in the following passages:

1. N. 1117. 四分律 of the Dharmagupta school, fasciculus 54 (列六 51).
2. N. 1119. 摩訶僧祇律 of the Mahāsaṅghika school, fasciculus 32 (列十 34).

* Last part, Lokadhātu, excluded.

† Last part, Itivṛttika, excluded.

3. N. 1122. 五分律 of the Mahiśāsaka school, fasciculus 30 (張二 68b).
4. N. 1121. 有部毘奈耶雜事 of the Sarvāstivāda school, fasciculus 40 (來二 92).
5. N. 1169. 大智度論 ascribed to Nāgārjuna, fasciculus 2. (往一 17b).
6. N. 1170. 瑜伽師地論 ascribed to Asaṅga, fasciculus 85 (來五 18b).

The first three of these agree in including the fifth, i. e. Khuddaka, collection in the Sutta-piṭaka, of which, however, the last three make no mention. Another point of deviation is that the Mahāsaṅghika tradition mentions 100 divisions of the Numerical Collection, against 11 in the others. The most important deviations consist in the details of the Classified Collections. I shall refer to these two points under each head of these Collections. As to the fifth collection, the third, the Mahiśāsaka tradition, mentions only its name, while the other two give some details regarding it. The Dharmagupta tradition divides the collection into the following parts:

1. 生, Jātaka.
2. 本, Itivṛttika.
3. 善因緣, Nidāna (?).
4. 方等, Vaipulya.
5. 未曾有, Adbhuta.
6. 譬喻, Apadāna (?).
7. 優波提娑, Upadeśa.
8. 句義, Udāna (?).
9. 法句, Dharmapada.
10. 波羅延, Pārāyana.
11. 雜難, Kathā-vastu (?).
12. 聖偈, Āryagāthā (i. e. Thera and Theri-gāthā?)

The Mahāsaṅghika tradition mentions only two divisions into 本行因緣 (Itivṛttika-nidāna?) of Buddhas and Arhats and 諸偈頌 (Gāthās) of Bhikṣus. It is interesting to notice that here Pārāyana, not Sutta-nipāta, is mentioned, and that in

many quotations we find it referred to in that title both in the Pāli Aṅguttara and the Chinese Saṃyukta.

The Khuddaka collection as a whole is wanting in Chinese, but we have some texts of it incorporated or quoted, in other texts. Among the Khuddaka texts there are found in Chinese the following:

(TABLE I.)

1. Dhammapada, in four translations (Nanjio, Nos. 1321, 1353, 1365 and 1439,) and with additions at the beginning and end.
2. Itivuttak, N. 714. 本事 (Itivṛttika), translated by Hhuen-Cwan. (Cf. Edmunds and Anesaki, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, Tōkyō. 1905, p.80.)
3. Sutta-nipāta.
   I. Uraga-vagga.
      1. Uraga-sutta: verses 3, 9, 14, 16, 17 etc. in the Dharmapada version, N. No. 1321 (藏 VI. 55), No. 1365 (藏 VI. 95a and 105b), No. 1439 (藏 VI. 115 and 122);
         verse 2 in the Mahā vibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 II. 12a, 收 IV. 72a), No. 1264 (秋 VIII. 4b and 秋 X. 42b), No. 1273 (秋 VI. 6b).
      2. Dhaniya, vv. 16-17 in the Saṃyukta, N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 86), No. 546 (辰 V. 49)=Saṃyutta, 4. 1. 8. Cf. Mahāvastu, vol. III. p. 417.
      3. Khaggavisāṇa, v. 2. in Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 VI. 4a); vv. 46-47 in the Dharmapada, N. No. 1365 (藏 VI. 103b), No. 1439 (藏 VI. 113b)= Dhammapada, vv. 328-329.
      4. Kasi-Bhāradvāja, in the Semyukta, (VII. 5. sūtra 25), N. No. 544 (辰 II. 22), No. 546 (辰 V. 85)= Saṃyutta, 7. 2. 1.
      5. Cunda, in the Dīrgha (*àpropos*, in the Mahā-parinibbāna) N. No. 545 (昃 IX. 15b); in the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, N. No. 1121 (塞 II. 78a). For

the Dīrgha passage, cf. *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, p. 189.

6. Parābhava, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 9. sūtra 69) N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 81-82), No. 546 (辰 V 89).

7. Vasala, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 5. sūtra 29), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 23b) No. 546 (辰 V. 86b).

9. Hemavata, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 11), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 95-97), No. 546 (辰 V. 103-104); in the Arthapada, N. No. 674 (宿 V. 63-64); in the Lokasthiti-abhidharma, N. No. 1297 (秋 I. 4-6).

10. Aḷavaka, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 8), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 94), No. 546 (辰 V. 102)=Saṃyutta, 10. 12; in the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, N. No. 1118 (張 IX. 101-102).

12. Muni, v. 5 in the Saṃyukta (VII. 1. sūtra 10), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 18b), No. 546 (宿 V. 4a)= Saṃyutta, 21. 10; v. 7 in the Dharmagupta-vinaya, N. No. 1117 (列 IV. 3a); v. 15 in the Saṃyukta (VII. 1. sūtra 2), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 2a), No. 546. (辰 IV. 2a), and in the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 28b)=Saṃyutta, 21. 6.

II. Cūḷa-vagga.

16. Maṅgala, in the Dharmapada, N. No. 1365 (歲 VI 107); cf. Beal, *Chinese Dharmapada.*

17. Sūciloma, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 10. sūtra 6). N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 94) No. 546 (辰 V. 101a)=Saṃyutta, 10. 3.

19. Brāhmaṇa-dhammika, in the Madhyama, N. No. 542 (No. 156), Dharmapārāyana (昃 VI. 96f).

21. Kiṃ-sila, in the Chinese Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 67b).

22. Uṭṭhāna, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 2) N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 98a), No. 546 (辰 V. 108); in the Prajña-pāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 108).

24. Vaṅgīsa, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 8. sūtra 14) N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 65b), No. 546 (辰 V. 82).

26. Dhammika, vv. 19-29 in the Śāriputra-abhidharma, N. No. 1268 (秋 II. 44).

III. Mahā-vagga.

27. Pabbajjā, in the Dharmagupta-vinay, N. No. 1117 117 (列 V. 1b); the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya, N. No. 1123 (塞 III. 17b).

28. Padhāna, in the Chinese Lalita-vistara, N. No. 159 (宙 IV. 35)=Lalita-vistara (ed. Lefmann, pp. 261-263); the Chinese Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 17-18)=Mahāvastu (ed. Sénart, vol. II. pp. 238-240); vv. 12-21, in the Prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 40 and 96a).

29. Subhāsita, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 8. sūtra 11), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 64-65), No. 546 (辰 V. 82)= Saṃyutta, 8. 5; in the Dharmagupta vinaya, N. No. 1117 (列 VI. 38b.)

30. Sundarika, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 5. sūtra 36), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 54-55), No. 546 (辰 V. 33)= Saṃyutta, 7. 1. 9.

31. Māgha, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 5. sūtra 9), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 45), No. 546 (辰 V. 27).

32. Sabhiya, in the Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 71) =Mahāvastu, ed. Sénart, vol. III. pp. 394f.

34. Salla, vv. 3-6, in the Dharmapada, N. No. 1439 (歳 VI. 108b) vv. 3 and 12 in No. 1365 (歳 VI. 94a, 106a).

35. Vāsettha, vv. 27-54 in the Dharmapada, N. No. 1365 (歳 VI. 105). No. 1439 (歳 VI. 122-123)=Dhammapada, vv. 396-423.

36. Kokāliya, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 9. sūtra 8), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 81), No. 546 (辰 V. 89); cf. Saṃyutta, 6. 1. 9-10. Quoted also in various Abhidharma texts.

37. Nālaka, see *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, pp. 61-67.

IV. Aṭṭhaka-vagga=Arthapada (義足經), N. No. 674 (with some additions).

39. Kāma, Arthapada, section 1. (宿 V. 57); in the Yogācārya, N. No. 1170 (來 I. 89); v. 1 in the Mahāvibhaṣā, N. No. 1264 (秋 VIII. 2a), No. 1263 (收 II. 36b); and v. 2 in No. 1263 (ditto), the Nyāyāhusāra, No. 1265 (冬 III. 12b).

40. Guhaṭṭhaka, Arthapada, section 2 (宿 V. 57b).

41. Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka, ditto, sect. 3 (宿 V. 58b).

42. Suddhaṭṭhaka, ditto, sect. 4 (宿 V. 59a).

43. Paramaṭṭhaka, ditto, sect. 5 (宿 V. 59b).

44. Jarā, ditto, sect. 6 (宿 V. 59-60); v. 1 in the Dharmapada, 1365 (藏 IV. 94b); v. 4 in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 II. 50b), No. 1264 (秋 VIII. 31a).

45. Tissa-metteya, Arthapada, sect. 7 (宿 V. 60a).

46. Pasūra, ditto, sect. 8 (宿 V. 60b); vv. 1-2, 10-11 in the Prajñāpāramitā-śātra, N. No. 1169 (往 I 115b).

47. Māgandiya, Arthapada, sect. 9 (宿 V. 61a); Prajñapāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 13a); v. 10 in the Saṃyukta (VI. 4. sūtra 6) N. No. 544 (辰 III. 15b)=Saṃyutta, 22. 3; Sarvāstivā-vinaya, N. No 1118 (張 IX. 103-104).

48. Purābheda, Arthapada, sect. 15 (宿 V. 67a).

49. Kalahavivāda, ditto, eect. 10 (宿 V. 62a); v. 13, in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 I. 19b, 收 VI. 40b), No. 1264 (秋 VII. 11b).

50. Cūḷa-viyūha, ditto, sect. 11 (宿 V. 62b); vv. 1-4 in the Prajñapārāmitā, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 10b).

51. Mahā-viyūha, ditto, sect. 12 (宿 V. 63).

52. Tuvaṭaka, ditto, sect. 13 (宿 V. 64).

53. Attadaṇḍa, ditto, sect. 16 (宿 V. 68).

54. Sāriputta, ditto, sect. 14 (宿 V. 66a).

V. Pārāyana.

56. Ajita-māṇava-pucchā, in the Yogacārya, N. No. 1170 (來 I. 88b); vv. 3-4, in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 III. 94), No. 1264 (秋 IX. 63b), No. 1279 (收 IX. 35a); v. 7 in the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 27).

57. Tissametteya-māṇava-pucchā, vv. 2-3 in the Saṃyukta (II. 5. sūtra 1) N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 46b)=Aṅgut, tara, VI. 61.

58. Puṇṇaka-māṇava-pucchā, in the Saṃyukta (VI. 1 sūtra 3) N. No. 544 (辰 III. 109b)=Aṅguttara, III. 32.

59. Mettagū-māṇava-pucchā, v. 10. in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 I. 27a), v. 2 ditto, No. 1263 (收 VI. 45b).

60. Dhotaka-māṇava-pucchā, vv. 3-4 in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 IV. 9a), No. 1264 (秋 IX. 75b), No. 1279 (收 IX. 50b).

61. Upasīva-māṇava-pucchā, vv. 7-8 in the Prajñapārā-mita-śāstra, N. No. 1169 (往 I. 29).

68. Udaya-māṇava-pucchā, vv. 2-3 in the Saṃyukta (VI. 1. sūtra 4) N. No. 544 (辰 III. 109b)=Aṅg-uttara, III. 32; vv. 6-7 in the Yogācārya, N. No. 1170 (來 I. 88b).

69. Posāla-māṇava-pucchā, v. 2 in the Mahāvibhāṣā, N. No. 1263 (收 I. 19, 收 VI. 40b).

4. Udāna.

I. 1-3, in the Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 43b).
I. 4, ditto (辰 VIII. 48a).
I. 7, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 2). N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 92), No. 546 (辰 V. 100).
I. 8, ditto (VII. 1. sūtra 11), No. 544 (辰 IV. 18b), No. 546 (辰 V. 4a).
II. 1, in the Mahāvastu, N. No. 680 (辰 VIII. 44a).
III. 13, ditto (辰 VIII. 48a).

IV. 4, in the Saṃyukta (VII. 11. sūtra 12), N. No. 544 (辰 IV. 97b), No. 546 (辰 V. 104b).

VIII. 10, ditto (VII. 1. sūtra 15), No. 544 (辰 IV. 20b), No. 546 (辰 V. 5b).

It was in the Summer of 1901 that I first discovered an unmistakable agreement between the Majjhima text of the Ariyapariyesana and the Chinese Madhyama of Rammaka (No. 204). During the following five years comparisons of the Āgama texts with their corresponding Pāli texts formed the main part of my work, and my labours are now nearly finished, at least in outline. What I wish to undertake further by the help of these general views is as follows:

1. Indexing all the texts and passages in the two versions which are found in one version only.
2. Indexing the Chinese verses, according to their corresponding Pāli Gāthās.
3. Indexing proper names and making a tabulation of the places where Buddha and his disciples mostly resided, and of those places where the lay-disciples and heretics lived.
4. Tabulating technical terms, capital passages and similes in Chinese and the Pāli words corresponding to them.

In publishing this paper I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Nanjio, the pioneer in this branch of study, for many useful pieces of information; to A. J. Edmunds, my friend beyond the Pacific, for the constant stimuli he has given me; and to B. Shiwo, my friend and pupil, for his assistance and suggestions.

II.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE ĀGAMA TEXTS INTO CHINESE.

Students of Chinese Buddhism usually divide the history of the translation of Buddhist texts into two periods, the first or older, before Hhüen-cwan and the second or later, after him. But as to the translations of the so-called Hīnayāna, or Āgama, texts, we have three very well marked periods; the first dating from about 150 to 450 A. D., during which time nearly all the translations of the texts were made; the second dating from about 450 to 970, in which very few Āgama texts were translated. and the third coming within the reign of the Sung dynasty (960-1127), which produced a good many retranslations.

In the first period we have such eminent translators as Shi-kāo of Parthia (安世高, 148-170), Chien of Yue-ci (支謙, 223-253), Dharmarakṣa of India (竺法護, 266-317), Fā-cü (法炬, 290-305), another Dharmarakṣa of India (竺曇無蘭, 381-395), Dharmanandi of Tukhāra (曇摩難提, 384-391), Gotama Saṅghadeva of Kubhā (僧伽提婆, 397-398), Buddhayaśas of Kubhā (佛陀耶舍, 412-413), Guṇabhadra of India (求那跋陀羅, 435-443). By these men and some others the Āgama texts were translated, in some cases even three or four versions being produced. Thus we have splendid collections of the four Āgamas, in whole or in part, translated into Chinese and handed down to us quite independently of the Pāli Nikāya's. It is to be noticed that these translators, working side by side with the translators of the Mahāyānist texts, acted mainly as translators of the Hīnayānist texts. A man like Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什), who was eminent for the great literary merit of his translations, had very

little to do with these Āgama texts, devoting himself chiefly to the transmission of the texts of the Mahāyāna; whereas, on the contrary, some of the above-named were exclusively translators of the Āgama texts. This shows that the Hīnayāna schools prospered in India in this period.

When we come to the second period the state of affairs changes suddenly and completely. The products of this period are almost all Mahāyānist. With the exception of a few translations, probably left over from the preceeding period, we have from first to last only four (or three) Āgama texts produced.

The third period is chiefly the age of mantric Buddhism; nevertheless a number of the Āgama texts were translated anew. They are the following (in Nanjio's Catalogue):

Nos. 848, 860, 850, 851, 949, 897, 870, 900, 904, 929, 924, 901, 922, 911, 596, 923, and two others by Fāthien (法天), or Fāhien (法賢).

Nos. 937, 990, 989, 933, 930, 945, 993, 952, 951, 938, 932, 986 by Sh'hu (施護).

No. 783 by Thien-si-tsāi (天息災).

Though a great many of the older translations are mentioned in some of the catalogues, we have not all of them before us. In the table given below I have restricted the references to those existing works which I have been able to verify and to identify with parts of the four principal collections or of the Pāli Nikāyas. Most of these agreements of independent and single translations with parts of the principal collections are pointed out by the authors of catalogues and supplemented by C'-sü (智旭, cf. Nanjio, p. xxvi). In the Japanese Tripitaka these are arranged in accordance with the directions of this authority, and put together after their respective chief Āgamas. They fill up the two cases referred to in the preceeding chapter. Besides them, some other Hīnayānist texts are brought together in the following, i. e. XIII. 宿, case. Among these latter I was able to find some which agree with parts of the

Āgamas, and some which are found in the Pāli Nikāyas but not in the Chinese Āgamas.

The following table shows the existing works of the several translators who worked in the first period. They are grouped together under the translators' names, and arranged otherwise according to their respective dates.

(TABLE II.) *

安世高 Shi-kâo of Parthia (N. Ap. II. 4), 148-170.

(1)	N. 617, 婆羅門避死,†	N. 543. 增阿 (31.4) 無常.
(2)	N. 649, 阿那邠邸化七子,	N. 543. 增阿 (51.7).
(3)	N. 559, 一切流攝守因,	N. 542. 中阿 10. 漏盡. M. 2. Sabbāsava.
(4)	N. 598, 四諦,	N. 542. 中阿 31. 分別聖諦. M. 141 Saccavibhaṅga.
(5)	N. 601, 本相猗致,	N. 542. 中阿 51. 本際.
(6)	N. 565, 是法非法,	N. 542. 中阿 85. 眞人. M. 113. Sappurisa.
(7)	N. 567, 漏分布,	N. 542. 中阿 111. 達梵行. A. VI. 63. Nibbedhika.
(8)	N. 582, 婆羅門子命終愛念不離,	N. 542. 中阿 216. 愛生. M. 87. Piyajātika.
(9)	N. 583, 十支居士八城人,	N. 542. 中阿 217, 八城 M. 52. Aṭṭhakanāgara.
(10)	N. 548, 十報法,	N. 545 長阿 10. 十上. D. 34. Dasuttara.
(11)	N. 553. 人本欲生,	N. 545. 長阿 13. 大緣方便. D. 15. Mahānidāna.
(12)	N. 555, 尸迦羅越六方禮,	N. 545. 長阿 16. 善生. D. 31. Siṅgālaka.

* N. means the numbers in Nanjio's catalogue. M. the Pāli Majjhima, A Aṅguttara, S. Saṃyutta, D. Dīgha.

† With the verse: *Na antalikkhe* &c.

(13)	N. 648, 七處三觀,	N. 544. 雜阿, I. 1. 8. sūtra 6. (辰 II. 8b). S. 22. 57. &c. (See table IV).
(14)	N. 653, 五陰譬喻,	N. 544. 雜阿 I. 1. 6. sūtra 3. (辰 II. 56). S. 22 95. Pheṇa.
(15)	N. 657, 轉法輪,	N. 544. 雜阿 III. 2. sūtra 1. (辰 II. 84). S. 56. 11-12. Dhammacakkappavattana.
(16)	N. 659, 八正道,	N. 544. 雜阿 V. 5. sūtra 75. (辰 III. 66). S. 45. (?).
(17)	N. 675, 鬼問目連,	N. 544. 雜阿 V. 2. (辰 III. 9-11). S. 19. Lakkhaṇa (vagga).
(18)	N. 724, 禪行三十七品,	?
(19)	N. 633, 阿難同學,	N. 543. 增阿 (?)
(20)	N. 762, 父母恩難報,	?
(21)	N. 705, 阿支羅迦葉自化作苦,	N. 544. 雜阿 III. 1. sūtra 20. (辰 II. 69b). S. 12. 17. Acela.

支曜, Yâo of Yue-ci (N. Ap. II. 7.) 185.

(22)	N. 563, 阿那律八念,	N. 542. 中阿 74. 八念. A. VIII. 30. Anuruddha.
(23)	N. 661, 馬有三態,	N. 544. 雜阿 VIII. 3. sūtra 4. (辰 III. 91b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 51a). A. III. 94. Tayo.
(24)	N. 662, 馬有八態,	N. 544. 雜阿 VIII. 3 sūtra 8. (辰 III. 92b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 III. 51b). A. VIII. 14. Khaluṅka.

康孟詳, Man-siān of Tibet (N. Ap. II. 10), 194-199.

(25)	N. 625, 舍利弗摩訶目連遊四衢,	N. 453. 增阿 (45.2). M. 67. Cātumā.

Translators' names lost, acribed to the Later Hān Dynasty 後漢 (25-220).

(26)	N. 578, 苦陰,	N. 542. 中阿 99. 苦陰. M. 13. Dukkhakkhandha.
(27)	N. 573, 魔嬈乱,	N. 542, 中阿 131. 降魔. M. 50. Māratajjaniya.

Translator's name lost, ascribed to the Wei Dynasty, 魏 (220-265).

(28)	N. 626, 七佛父母姓字,	N. 543. 增阿 (48. 4). N. 545. 長阿 1. 七佛. D. 14. Mahāpadāna.

支謙 Chien of Yue-ci (N. Ap. II. 18), 223-253.

(29)	N. 615, 須摩提女, (Sumati),	N. 543. 增阿 (30. 3). ?
(30)	N. 557, 七知,	N. 542. 中阿 1. 善法. A. VII. 64. Dhammaññū.
(31)	N. 580, 釋摩男本四子, (Mahānāma),	N. 542. 中阿 100. 苦陰. M. 14. Dukkhakkhanda (Cūḷa).
(32)	N. 590, 諸法本,	N. 542. 中阿 113. 諸法本. A. X. 58. Mūlā (=A. VIII. 83).
(33)	N. 574, 降魔試目連,	N. 542. 中阿 131. 降魔. M. 50. Māratajjaniya.
(34)	N. 594, 賴吒和羅,	N. 542. 中阿 132. 賴吒和羅. M. 82. Raṭṭhapāla.
(35)	N. 608, 梵摩渝,	N. 542. 中阿 161. 梵摩. M. 91. Brahmāyu.

(36) N. 577, 齋,(Uposatha), {N. 542. 中阿 202. 持齋. A. VIII. 43. Visākhā.

(37) N. 592, 佛開解梵志阿颰, {N. 545. 長阿 20. 阿盡摩. D. 3. Ambaṭṭha.

(38) N. 554, 梵網六十二見, {N. 545. 長阿 21. 梵動. D. 1. Brahmajāla.

(39) N. 655, 不自守意, {N. 544. 雜阿 II. 3. sūtra 5. (辰 11. 61b). S. ?

(40) N. 674, 義足, (Arthapada), {S. Nip. Aṭṭhaka-vagga (with stories).

竺律炎 Lüh-yen of India (N. Ap. II. 20) 230.

(41) N. 616, 三摩竭, (?), {N. 543. 增阿 (30. 3). ?

Translator's name lost, ascribed to the Wu dynasty 吳 222-280.

(42) N. 547, 雜阿含, See Table IV.

竺法護, Dharmarakṣa of India (N. Ap. II. 23.), 266-317 (or 313).

(43) N. 621, 鴦堀摩, {N. 543. 增阿 (38. 6). M. 86. Aṅgulimāla.

(44) N. 623, 力士移山, (45) N. 624, 四未曾有, {N. 543. 增阿 (42. 3) 遺 (parts). A. VIII. 70 Bhūmicāla (parts).

(46) N. 564, 離睡, {N. 542. 中阿 83. 長老睡眠. A. VII. 58 Pacala (first part).

(47) N. 570, 受歲, {N. 542. 中阿 89 比丘請. M. 15. Anumāna.

(48) N. 566. 樂想, {N. 542. 中阿 106. 想. M. 1. Mūlapariyāya.

(49)	N. 609, 尊上,	N. 542. 中阿 166. 釋中禪室尊. M. 134. Lomasakaṅgiya-bh.
(50)	N. 612, 意,	N. 542. 中阿 172. 心. A. IV. 186. Ummagga.
(51)	N. 614, 應法,	N. 542. 中阿 175. 受法. M. 46. Dhammasamādāna.
(52)	N. 652, 聖法印, (Ariyadhammalakkhaṇa),	N. 544. 雜阿 I. 14. sūtra 12. (長 II. 16b). S. ?
(53)	N. 468, 當來變,*	A. V. 79. Anāgata-bhayāni.
(54)	N. 745, 大迦葉本,	N. 542. 中阿 63. 鞞婆陵耆 M. 81. Ghaṭikāra
(55)	N. 671, 琉璃王,	N 543. 增阿 (34. 2) (長 II. 30-32),
(56)	N. 712, 所欲致患,	?
(57)	N. 697, 分別,	?

白法祖 Po Fā-tsu (N. Ap. II. 28), 290-306.

(58)	N. 650, 大愛道般泥洹,	N. 543. 增阿 (52. 1). ?
(59)	N. 552, 佛般泥洹,	N. 545. 長阿 2. 遊行 D. 16. Mahāparinibbāna.

法炬 Fā-cü (N. Ap. II. 30) circ. 290-306.

(60)	N. 614, 波斯匿王太后崩塵土坌身,	N. 543. 增阿 (26. 7). 老耄 N. 644. 雜阿 VII. 4. sūtra 2, (長 IV. 67). N. 646. 別雜 (ditto). (長 V. 18). S. 3. 3. 2.
(61)	N. 619, 頻毘婆羅王詣佛供養,	N. 543. 增阿 (34. 5). ?

* Cf. *Budahist and Christian Gospels*, p. 174.

(62)	N. 622, 鴦崛髻,*	N. 543. 增阿 (38. 6). M. 86. Angulimāla.
(63)	N. 599. 恒水.	N. 542. 中阿 37. 瞻波. A. VIII. 20. Uposatha.
(64)	N. 603. 頂生王故事,	N. 542. 中阿, 60. 四洲. Divyāvadāna (p. 210 f.)
(65)	N. 569, 求欲,	N. 542. 中阿 87. 穢品. M. 5. Anaṅgana.
(66)	N. 579, 苦陰因事,	N. 542. 中阿 100. 苦陰. M. 14. Dukkhakkhandha.
(67)	N. 600, 瞻波比丘,	N. 542. 中阿 122. 瞻波. A. VIII. 10. Kāraṇḍava.
(68)	N. 572, 伏婬,	N. 542. 中阿 126. 行欲. A. X. 91. Kāmabhogī.
(69)	N. 596, 數,	N. 542. 中阿 144. 算數目揵連. M. 107. Gaṇakamoggallāna.
(70)	N. 660, 難提釋,	N. 544. 雜阿, V. 8 sūtra 28. (辰 III. 78b.) A. XI. 14 Nandiya.
(71)	N. 663, 相應相可,	N. 544. 雜阿 III. 3. sūtras 6-22. (辰 II. 94.) S. 14. 17-24. Asaddha.
(72)	N. 713. 阿闍世王問五逆,	?
(73)	N. 673, 法海,	N. 542. 中阿 37. 瞻波. A. VIII. 20. Uposatha.
(74)	N. 725, 比丘避女惡名欲自殺,	N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 12 sūtra 14. (辰 IV. 100a). N. 546 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 110). S. 9. 8. Ogalha.
(75)	N. 764. 譬牛喻,	?

* Nanjic's statement that the translator of this text is Dharmarakṣa is a mistake.

(76) N. 748. 佛爲年少比丘說正事, ?

(77) N. 383, 諸德福田, (Theragāthā, another version?)

支法度 Fā-tu of Yue-ci (N. Ap. II. 33), 301.

(78) N. 595, 善生子, { N. 542. 中阿 135. 善生, N. 545. 長阿 16. 善生. D. 31. Siṅgālaka.

Translators' names lost, ascribed to the Former Tsin Dynasty, 西晉 (265-316).

(79) N, 641, 玉耶女, { N. 543. 增阿 (51. 9). A. VII. 59. Sattabhariyā.

(80) N. 631, 舍衛國王夢見十事 (Ten Dreams of the king of Sāvatthi), { N. 543. 增阿 (52. 9). cf. below (86). ?

(81) N. 558. 鹹水喻, { N. 542. 中阿 4. 水喻. A. VII. 15 Udakūpama.

(82) N. 562. 古來世時, { N. 542. 中阿 66. 說本. ?

(83) N. 611. 兜調 (Todeya). { N. 542. 中阿 170 鸚鵡. M. 135. Kammavibhaṅga.

竺曇無蘭 Dharmarakṣa of India, (N. Ap. II. 38), 381-395.

(84) N. 630. 四泥黎 (the Four Hells). { N. 543. 增阿 (50. 5). ?

(85) N. 640, 玉耶, { N. 543. 增阿 (51. 9). A. VII. 59. Sattabhariyā.

(86) N. 632, 國王不梨先泥十夢 (Ten Dreams of Prasenajit), { N. 543. 增阿 (52. 9). cf. above (80). ?

(87)	N. 561, 鐵城泥黎,	N. 542. 中阿 64. 天使. M. 130. Devadūta.
(88)	N. 568, 阿耨風,	N. 542. 中阿 112. 阿奴波. A. VI. 62. Udaka.
(89)	N. 597, 梵志頻娑羅延問種尊,	N. 542 中阿 151, 阿攝恕. M. 93. Assalāyana.
(90)	N. 575, 泥黎,	N. 542. 中阿 199. 癡慧地. M. 129. Bālapaṇḍita.
(91)	N. 593, 寂志果,	N. 545. 長阿 27. 沙門果. D. 2. Sāmaññaphala.
(92)	N. 654, 水沫所漂,	N. 544. 雜阿 I. 1. 6. sūtra 3. (辰 II 56). S. 22. 95. Pheṇa.
(93)	N. 588, 戒德香,	N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 2. sūtra 12. (辰 IV. 19a). N. 543. 增阿 (23. 5.) 逆順香 (伏 I 55b). A. III. 79. Gandha.
(94)	N. 719, 阿鵰阿那含,	?
(95)	N. 751, 自愛 (Attapiya),	N. 543. 增阿 (52. 7). Another version of S. 3. 1. 4. (?)
(96)	N. 763, 新歲,	N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 8. sūtra 5 (辰 IV. 63). N. 543. 增阿 (32. 5.) 歲. S. 8. 7. Pavāraṇā.
(97)	N. 736, 比丘聽施,	?

瞿曇僧伽提婆 Gautama Saṅghadeva (N. Ap. II. 39. and 56.), 397-398.

(98)	N. 542. 中阿含,	Majjhima Nikāya (See Table VII).

法顯 Fahien (N. App. II. 45) 414.

(99) N. 120, 大般涅槃經, {N. 545. 長阿 2. 遊行. D. 16. Mahāparinibbāna.

Translators' names lost, ascribed to the Later Tsin Dynasty, 東晉 (317-420).

(100) N. 618, 食施獲五福報, {N. 543. 增阿 (32. 11) 五施. A. V. 37. Bhojana.

(101) N. 602, 緣本致, {N. 542. 中阿 51. 本際. ?

(102) N. 571, 梵志計水淨, {N. 542. 中阿 93, 水淨梵志. M. 7. Vatthūpama.

(103) N. 605, 三歸五戒慈心厭離功德, {N. 542. 中阿 155. 須達多. A. IX. 20. Velāma.

(104) N. 584, 邪見 (Diṭṭhi), {N. 542. 中阿 220, 見. A. VII. 51. Avyākata.

(105) N. 585, 箭喻, {N. 542. 中阿 221. 箭喻. M. 63. Māluṅkya (Cūḷa).

(106) N. 119, 般泥洹, {N. 545. 長阿 2. 遊行. D. 16. Mahāparinibbāna.

(107) N. 656, 滿願子, {N. 544. 雜阿 II. 5. sūtra 8 (長 II 72). S. 35. 88. Puṇṇa.

鳩摩羅佛陀 Kumārabuddha (N. Ap. II. 53), 369-371.

(108) N. 1381, 四阿鋡暮抄解 (An epitome of the doctrines stated in the Four Āgamas).

曇摩難提 Dharmanandin (N. Ap. II. 57), 384-385.

(109) N. 543, 增一阿含, Aṅguttara (See Table X).

鳩摩羅什 Kumārajīva (N. Ap. II. 59) 402-412.

(110)	N. 627. 放牛,	N. 543. 增阿 (49. 1). N. 544. 雜阿 VI. 2. sūtra 4 (長 IV 73b). M. 33. Gopālaka.
(111)	N. 672, 海八德,	N. 542. 中阿 37. 瞻波. A. VIII. 20. Uposatha.

佛陀耶舍 Buddhayaśas (N. Ap. II. 61) 412-413.

(112)	N. 545, 長阿含,	Dīgha. (See Table V.)

曇無讖 Dharmarakṣa (N. Ap. II. 67), 414-421.

(113)	N. 604. 文陀竭王 (Muṇḍaka),	N. 542. 中阿 60. 四洲. Divyāvadāna, pp. 210-226.

求那跋陀羅 Guṇabhadra (N. Ap. II. 81), 435-443.

(114)	N. 544, 雜阿含,	Saṃyutta (See Table IX.)
(115)	N. 589, 四人出現世間,	N. 543. 增阿 (26. 5) 四闍. A. IV. 85. and S. 3. 3. 1.
(116)	N. 629, 十一想思念如來,	N. 543. 增阿 (49. 10). A. XI. 15. (?)
(117)	N. 610, 鸚鵡,	N. 542. 中阿 170. 鸚鵡 M. 135. Kamma-vibhaṅga.
(118)	N. 581, 鞞摩肅,	N. 542. 中阿 209. 鞞摩那修. M. 80. Vekhanasa.
(119)	N. 740, 十二品生死,	?
(120)	N. 642, 阿遮達 (Anātha).	N. 543. 增阿 (51. 9). A. VII. 59. Sattabhariyā.

Translators' names lost, ascribed to the Sung Dynasty, 宋 (420.—479).

(121)	N. 607. 黃竹園老婆羅門說學,	N. 542. 中阿, 157. 黃蘆園. A. VIII. 11. Verañja.

(122) N. 576. 優陂夷墮(頻)舍法, {N. 542. 中阿 202. 持齋. A. VIII. 43. Visākhā.

(123) N. 470, 法滅盡, A. V. 79. Anāgatabhayāni.

智嚴 C'yen (N. Ap. II. 76.) 427.

(124) N. 722, 四天王, {N. 542. 中阿 64. 天使. M. 130. Devadūta.

惠簡 Hwui-kien (N. Ap. II. 84), 457.

(125) N. 620, 長者子六過出家, {N. 543. 增阿 (35. 10). ?

(126) N. 651, 佛母般泥洹, {N. 543. 增阿 (52. 1), ?

(127) N. 560, 閻羅王五天使, {N. 542. 中阿 64. 天使. M. 130. Devadūta.

(128) N. 591, 瞿曇彌記果, {N. 542. 中阿 116 瞿曇彌. A. VIII. 51. Dhammika.

沮渠京聲 Tsü-chü Cin-shan (N. Ap. II. 68 and 83), 455-464.

(129) N. 701, 八關齋, {N. 542. 中阿 202. 持齋. A. VIII. 43. Visākhā.

(130) N. 771, 耶祇, (Yogi). ?

(131) N. 690, 進學, (Sekha?) ?

求那毘地 Guṇavṛddhi (N. Ap. II. 97), 495.

(132) N. 606, 須達, {N. 542. 中阿 155. 須達多. A. IX. 20. Velāma.

瞿曇法智 Gautama Dharmajñāna (N. Ap. II. 126), 582.

(133) N. 739, 佛爲首迦長者說業報差別, {N. 542. 中阿 170. 鸚鵡. M. 135. Kammavibhaṅga.

III.

TWO MINOR COLLECTIONS OF THE ĀGAMA TEXTS.

In the catalogue of 520 A. D. (出三藏記集, N. 1476) we find under Ān-shi-kao's works the following titles, among others:

(1) 七處三觀經, Seven Positions and Three meditations.

(2) 九橫, Nine kinds of untimely death.

(3) 雜經四十四篇 Forty-four pieces of miscellaneous sūtras.

The first two are said to be found in the Saṃyukta and the last in the Ekottara. Again in the Khāi-yuen Catalogue of 730 (開元錄, N. 1485) these three are mentioned, but the last is counted among the lost texts. In the former catalogue the first of these three texts is said to consist of two fasciculi, with no mention of sections or of sūtras; on the other hand, in the latter catalogue it is mentioned as containing 30 sūtras in one fasciculum. In the present edition we have a text of the name 七處三觀 (N. 648). It begins with a sūtra agreeing with the Sattaṭṭhāna (S. 22. 57) and ends with another agreeing with the Puggala (S. 15. 10) which, alone among the thirty sūtras, has a separate title. There is no doubt but that this is the 七處三觀 of the Khai-yuen catalogue. Next to this there is another with the title 九橫, which contains 17 sūtras. This must have been the 九橫 of the two catalogues, as above mentioned, but the title is only applicable to the first sūtra, and, moreover, the Sung and the Yuen editions have at the end seven signs which mean "the first (of the two) part of the 七處三觀". Thus we confront a confused situation. By examination of the text I have been led to conclude as follows:

i. There was originally a collection of 44 sūtras which has not really been lost, as the author of the Khai-yuen catalogue believed, but has been handed down with the title 七處三觀.

ii. With it the three, 七處三觀 (S. 22. 57), 積骨 (S. 15. 10) and 九橫 ("the nine untimely") have been incorporated, and the present collection accordingly contains 47 suttas.

iii. In the course of time this collection was divided into two parts, one beginning with the 七處三觀 and bearing that title, and the other beginning with the 九橫 and bearing that title, the former containing 30 sūtras and ending with 積骨 (S. 15. 10) and the latter consisting of 17 sūtras.

iv. This is the reason why the Khai-yuen catalogue states that the former (七處三觀) consists of 30 sūtras in one volume, whereas it is mentioned in the older catalogue as consisting of two volumes.

Here, therefore, we have a little Ekottara collection of 44 sūtras, which has been handed down as the 七處三觀 (N. 648) with the addition of the three suttas. The following analysis of the collection will tell what kind of a collection it is.

TABLE III.*—A SMALL EKOTTARA COLLECTION.

DUKA-NIPĀTA.

1-8	(32-39) [二人] (Dve puggalā).	A. II. 11. (1-5).
9	(40) [白淨]	A. II. 1. 9. Sukka.

TIKA-NIPĀTA.

10	(41) [無眼]	A. III. 29. Andha.
11	(42) [有行]	A. III. 76-77. Bhavacetana.

* In the table I have arranged and numbered the sūtras so as to make an Ekottara collection and put the numbers in the present edition in brackets. The division into the Nipātas is my own.

12	(43) [行]	A. III. 42. Ṭhāna.
13	(44) [安善樂]	?
14	(45) [病] *	?
15	(46) [惡本]	A. III. 69. Akusalamūla.
16	(47) [賢]	A. III. 45. Paṇḍita.
17	(1) [七處三觀]	S. 22. 57. Sattaṭṭhāna.
18	(2) [家]	A. III. 105. Kūṭā.
19	(3) [無眼]	A. III. 29. Andha.

CATUKKA-NIPĀTA.

20	(4) [欲著]	A. IV. 10. Taṇhayoga. ‡
21	(5) [顚倒]	A. IV. 49. Vipallāsa. ‡
22	(6) [同心]	A. IV. 32 and 153. Saṅgaha. ‡
23	(7) [輪]	A. IV. 31. Cakka. ‡
24-25	(8-9) [自護]	A. IV. 98. Attahita.
26	(10) [雲] †	A. IV. 102. Valāhaka.
27	(11) [舍]	A. IV. 14. Padhāna.
28	(12) [不自侵要]	A. IV. 37. Abhabbo parihāyāna. ‡
29	(13) [賢者]	A. V. 42. Sappurisa. ‡

PAÑCAKA-NIPĀTA

30	(14) [少色] (Appavaṇṇa) ?	
31	(15) [時施]	A. V. 36. Kāladāna. ‖
32	(16) [賢者]	A. V. 148. Sappurisa.
33	(17) [法教得道]	A. V. 153. Saddhammaniyāma.
34	(18) [行見]	?
35	(19) [因緣] (Hetu?)	?
36	(20) [步行]	A. V. 29. Caṅkama.
37	(21) [山上澤中]	A. V. 181-183. Araññaka.
38	(22) [惡行]	A. V. 241-244. Duccarita.
39	(23) [人々相作]	A. V. 250. Puggalappasāda.

* No. 543. 增阿 (21. 7) (沃 I. 48).
† Ditto (25. 10) 沃 I. 72b).
‡ Except verse.
‖ Except verse. N. 543, 雜阿 (32. 12). (沃 II. 23a).

40	(24) [不忍辱]	A. V. 215. Akantiya.
41	(25) [惡]	A. V. 211. Akkosa.
42	(26) [聞受]	A. V. 140. Sotara.
43	(27) [不依他]	?

ATTHAKA-NIPĀTA.

44	(28) [諸畏]	A. VIII. 56. Bhayā.

NAVAKA-NIPĀTA.

45	(29) [九孔] (Navadvāra) ?	
46	(30) [積骨]	S. 15. 10. Puggala.
47	(31) [九橫]	?

Next to this old Ekottara Collection we have a small collection of the Saṃyukta texts, known as 雜阿含經 (N. 547).† The name of its translator is lost, but it is counted among the productions of the Wu dynasty, 222-280 A. D. It contains 27 sūtras, but the collection as a whole and its title are unknown in the older catalogues, being mentioned for the first time in the Khai-yuen catalogue. The catalogue of 520, however, mentions a group of 25 Saṃyukta sūtras. Their titles seem not to have been original, but to have been supplied from the texts, and they agree in the main with the texts of the collection now under consideration. The exceptions to these agreements are the 9th, 10th and 27th of the present collection, which are not in the catalogue, and a text with the title 署杜乘披羅門 (Brāhmaṇa——?), which is in the catalogue but not in the collection. On Examination it appears that the 9th text, on the *kāyānupassi*, agrees exactly sign for sign with a translation by Dharmarakṣa (N. 726), and the 27th with the 七處三觀 (Sattaṭṭhāna) of Ān-shi-kao above mentioned. Although we do not know how to settle the 10th sūtra, we can say almost with certainty that out of the original 25 sūtras, which have come down from a certain translator,

* N. 544. 雜阿, VIII. 5. sūtra 11 (辰 III. 98b), N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 106b); cf. Itivuttaka, 24=N. 644. 本事 (辰 VI. 21b). † Table II. 42.

one was lost and three were interpolated. There is another possibility, that the 9th and 10th have been supplied. In this case the 27th sūtra, i.e. the 七處三觀, must have been in the collection from the beginning, and then the collection may be ascribed to Ān-shi-kao. But the style of translation is not his, and it is not found in the older catalogue among this group.

TABLE IV.—A SMALL SAṂYUTTA COLLECTION.

Number in the text.	Separate titles given in the catalogue of 520 (N. 1476).	
1.	佛在拘薩國 (Buddha at Kosala),	S. 7. 2. 1. Kasi. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra 25 (辰 II. 22a). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 85b).
2.	生聞婆羅門, (Jānussoṇi),	A. V. 179. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra 22. (辰 II. 21b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 84b).
3.	有隡竭 (Saṅgāra ?)	? N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra 21 (辰 II. 21b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 84b).
4.	佛在優蹀(頻)國, (Buddha at Uruvelā),	S. 47. 18. Brahmā. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. sūtra 6. 2. (辰 IV. 56). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 34).
5.	是時梵自守, (At that time the Brāhmaṇa asserted himself),	S. 6. 1. 7-9 Kokālika. N. 544 雜阿 VII. 6. sūtra 6. (辰 IV. 57). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 IV. 57b).
6.	有三方便, (There are three means),	?
7.	婆羅門不信重, (Brāhmaṇa named "Neither believing nor paying respects"),	?

8.	佛告舍(利)曰, (Buddha told to Sāriputta),	?
9.	?	? N. 726. 身觀 (八宿 24b).
10.	?	?
11.	說人自說人骨不知腐, (The sermon that every one does not know his own bones),	S. 15. 10. (See Table III. No. 46).
12.	色比丘念本起, (Bhikkhu's thoughts on the causes of the rūpa),	?
13.	佛說善惡意, (On good and bad thoughts),	?
14.	四意止, (Satipaṭhāna),	?
15.	一法相,	S. 54. 1. Ekadhamma. N. 544. 雜阿, V. 6. sūtras 2-3 (辰 III. 68).
16.	有二力本,	A. II. 2. 1. Bala. N. 544, 雜阿 V. 3. sūtra 1. (辰 III. 50).
17.	有三力, (Three balas),	?
18.	有四力, (Four balas),	A. IV. 5. (last part abridged).
19.	人有五力, (Man has five balas),	? N. 543. 增阿 (35. 4) (戾 II. 37).
20.	不聞者類相聚, (Group of those who do not obey Buddha's teaching),	S. 14. 17-24. Asaddha &c. N. 544. 雜阿 III. 3. sūtras 6-22. (辰 II. 94). N. 663. 相應相可 (辰 VI. 206).
21.	天上釋爲故世在人中, (Sakka was once among men),	S. 11. 2. 3. Devā. N. 544. 雜阿 VI 3. sūtra 2. (辰 IV. 29b). N. 546. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 11b).

22.	爪頭土,	S. 20. 2. Nakhasikha. N. 544. 雜阿 VI. 2. sūtra II. (辰 IV. 75).
23.	身爲無有反復, (Repetition of bodily existence),	?
24.	師子畜生王, (Lion, is the king of the beasts),	?
25.	阿須(遮)倫子婆羅門,	S. 7. 1. 3. Asurindika. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra 1. (辰 IV. 43). N. 547. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 25).
26.	婆羅門子名不侵,	S. 7. 1. 5. Ahiṃsaka. N. 544. 雜阿 VII. 5. sūtra 6. (辰 IV. 44). N. 547. 別雜 ditto (辰 V. 26a).
27.	(七處三觀),	S. 22. 57. Sattaṭṭhāṇa. N. 544. 雜阿 I. 1. 8. sūtra 6 (辰 II. 8b).

IV.

THE LONG COLLECTION.

Our present collection contains the longest discourses of the Buddha, as its title signifies, and as is stated in all traditions concerning the compilation of the Buddhist Scriptures. It has only one Chinese version, which dates from the beginning of the fifth century. Nothing particular needs to be stated here, except something regarding the last chapter of the Chinese version. That is entitled the "Descriptions of the Worlds," or *Loka-dhātu*. Its contents may be seen in outline in Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 545 (30); and its materials may partly be found in the Pali books. Most of the verses the compiler has introduced in support of his descriptions of the various resorts of transmigration may be traced to the Nikāyas and the Āgamas. We shall not dwell much on this point. It is to be noticed here that the chapter has different versions in some separate texts. They are Nos. 549-551 in Nanjio, and these texts are expanded again in another text, Nanjio, No. 679. These texts seem to have some relation to an Abhidharma text, of similar contents (Nanjio, No. 1297), and they may have been one of the products of the period in which many manuals of Buddhist philosophy and tradition were compiled.

Besides this the sūtras which are found in Chinese and are wanting in Pāli are 11 and 12, but No. 11 is nearly a duplicate of No. 10 which agrees with the Pāli, No. 34, Dasuttara. Those Pāli sections which are wanting in Chinese are No. 6. Mahāli, No. 7. Jaliya, No. 10. Subha, and No. 32. Aṭānatiya. These are nowhere found in the Chinese Canon.

The comparisons will be seen from the following tables, of the Pāli Digha and the Chinese Dīrgha.

(Table V.)—THE CHINESE DĪRGHA TEXTS AND THEIR PĀLI COUNTERPARTS.

1. 大本, D. 14. Mahāpadāna.
   N. 860. 七佛 (厌 X. 1).
   N. 543. 增阿 (厌 III. 35b).
   (28) N. 626. 七佛父母姓字 (厌 IV. 30).
2. 遊行 (Carika). D. 16. Mahāparinibbāna (大入滅). (*a*).
   D. 17. Mahāsudassana (大善見). (*b*).
   (*a*) (59) N. 552. 佛般泥洹 (厌 X. 9b).
   (99) N. 118. 大般涅槃 (厌 X. 22).
   (106) N. 119. 般泥洹 (厌 X. 35b).
   (*b*) N. 542. 中阿 (68) 大善見王 (厌 V 80b).
   N. 904. 大正句王 (厌 VIII. 17b).
3. 典尊, D. 19. Mahāgovinda.
   N. 993. 大堅固婆羅門緣起 (厌 X. 47b).
4. 闍尼沙, D. 18. Janavasabha.
   N. 901. (人仙) (厌 X. 53).
5. 小緣, D. 27. Aggañña.
   N. 542. 中阿 (154) 婆羅婆堂 (厌 VI. 92).
   N. 952. 白衣金幢二婆羅門緣起 (厌 X. 56).
6. 轉輪聖王修行, D. 26. Cakkavatti.
   N. 542. 中阿 (70) 轉輪王 (厌 V. 85).
7. 弊宿, D. 23. Pāyāsi.
   N. 542. 中阿 (71) 蛸肆 (厌 V. 88b).
8. 散陀那 (Sandhāna), D. 25. Udumbarika (烏暫婆).
   N. 542. 中阿 (104) 優曇婆羅 (厌 VI. 26).
   N. 951. 尼拘陀梵志 (厌 X. 60b).
9. 衆集, D. 33. Saṅgīti.
   N. 938. 大集法門 (厌 X. 64b).
10. 十上, D. 34. Dasuttara.
    (10) N. 548. 十報法 (厌 X. 69b).
11. 增一 (Ekottara), ?

12. 三聚, ?
13. 大緣方便, D. 15. Mahānidāna.
(11) N. 553. 人本欲生 (厌 X. 75b).
14. 釋帝桓因問, D. 21. Sakkapaṅha.
N. 542. 中阿 (134) 釋問 (厌 VI. 59).
N. 924. 帝釋所問 (厌 VIII. 50).
N. 1329. 雜寶藏經六卷初 (宿 X. 25b).
15. 阿羞夷 (Anuppiya). D. 24. Pāṭika (波梨子).
16. 善生 (Sujāta). D. 31. Siṅgālaka.
N. 542. 中阿 (135) 善生 (厌 VI. 64).
(12) N. 555. 尸伽羅越六方禮拜 (厌 X. 82).
(78) N. 595. 善生子 (厌 VIII. 53b).
17. 清淨, D. 29 Pāsādika.
18. 自歡喜, D. 28. Sampadānīya.
N. 922. 信佛功德 (厌 X 83).
19. 大會, D. 20. Mahāsamaya
(Cf. S. 1. 4. 8. Samaya).
N. 851. 大三摩惹 (厌 X. 85).
N. 544. 雜阿. VII. 6. sūtra 5. (辰 IV. 56b).
N. 546. 別雜. ditto (辰 V. 35a).
20. 阿摩晝. D. 3. Ambaṭṭha.
(37) N. 592. 開解梵志惡 (厌 X. 86b).
21. 梵動 (Brahmacāla ?) D. 1. Brahmajāla.
(38) N. 554. 梵網六十二見 (厌 X. 90).
22. 種德, D. 4. Sonadaṇḍa.
23. 究羅檀頭, D. 5. Kūṭadanta.
24. 堅固, D. 11. Kevaddha.
25. 裸形梵志, D. 8. Kassapa-sīhanāda.
26. 三明, D. 13. Tevijjā.
27. 沙門果, D. 2. Sāmaññaphala.
N. 543. 增阿 (43.7) 無根信 (厌 III. 13).
(91) N. 593. 寂志果 (厌 X. 95b).
28. 布吒婆樓. D. 9. Poṭṭhapāda.
29. 露遮. D. 12. Lohiccha,
30. 世記, (Lokadhātu). ?

(Table VI.)—THE PĀLI DĪGHA TEXTS AND THEIR CHINESE COUNTERPARTS.

1.	Brahmajāla,	21. 梵動.
2.	Sāmaññaphala,	27. 沙門果.
3.	Ambaṭṭha,	20. 阿摩晝.
4.	Soṇadaṇḍa,	22. 種德.
5.	Kūṭadanta,	23. 究羅檀頭.
6.	Mahāli,	?
7.	Jāliya,	?
8.	Kassappa-sīhanāda,	25. 裸形梵志.
9.	Poṭṭhapāda,	28. 布檀婆樓,
10.	Subha,	?
11.	Kevaddha,	24. 堅固.
12.	Lohiccha,	29. 露遮.
13.	Tevijjā,	26. 三明.
14.	Mahāpadāna,	1. 大本.
15.	Mahānidāna,	13. 大緣方便.
16.	Mahāparinibbāna,	2. 遊行.
17.	Mahāsudassana,	
18.	Janavasabha,	4. 闍尼娑.
19.	Mahāgovinda,	3. 典尊.
20.	Mahāsamaya,	19. 大會.
21.	Sakkapañha,	14. 釋帝桓因問.
22.	Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna,	N. 542. 中阿 (98) 念處 (沃 VI. 11b).
23.	Pāyāsi,	7. 弊宿.
24.	Pāṭika,	15. 阿嵬夷.
25.	Udumbarika,	8. 散陀那.
26.	Cakkavatti,	6. 轉輪聖王修行.
27.	Aggañña,	5. 小緣.
28.	Sampadānīya,	18. 自歡喜.
29.	Pāsādika,	17. 清淨.
30.	Lakkhaṇa,	N. 542. 中阿 (59) 三十二相 (Up to the verses).

31.	Siṅgālaka,	16.	善生.
32.	Āṭānatiya,	?	
33.	Saṅgīti,	9.	衆集.
34.	Dasuttara,	10.	十上.

V.

THE MIDDLE COLLECTION.

The title shows that this collection is made up of the discourses of middle length, but it does not imply that they are all shorter than any of the Dīgha discourses. We have little to say further about this collection. The following tables will show how the two traditions, Pāli and Chinese, differ from or agree with each other. The deviations are greater in this collection than in the Long, and I suspect either the Pāli Majjhima has transferred some of the suttas to the Numerical Collection, or the original of the Chinese version has taken many Numerical texts to itself.

[In table VII various versions of the single parts are given under each sūtra with the numbers in Table II].

(TABLE VII).—THE CHINESE MADHYAMA TEXTS AND THEIR PĀLI COUNTERPARTS.

1. 善法 (Saddhamma) A. VII. 64. Dhammaññū (知法)
   (30) N. 557. 七知經 (厌 VIII. 1).
   N. 543. 增阿 (39.1) 等法 (厌 II. 61).
2. 晝度樹, A. VII. 65. Pārichattaka.
   N. 990 園生樹經 (厌 VIII. 1b).
   N. 543, 增阿 (39. 2) 晝度 (厌 II. 61b).
3. 城喻* A. VII. 63. Nagara.
   N. 543, 增阿 (39. 4) 城郭喻 (厌 II. 62b).
4. 水喻† A VII. 15. Udakūpama.
   (81) N. 558 鹹水喻經 (厌 VIII. 2).
   N. 543 增阿 (39. 3) 水喻 (厌 II. 62).

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* With additions describing each of the seven qualities, i.e. the seven Bojjhaṅgas.

† With some repetitions which are not found in the other versions.

5. 木積喻 (Rukkhak-khandhūpama).* } A. VII. 68. Aggi (火).
N. 543, 增阿 (34.10) 枯樹 (厌 II. 29).
6. 善人往 (Sappurisagati).† A VII. 52. Purisagati.
7. 世間福 (Lokapuñña).‡ ?
N. 543, 增阿 (40. 7) (厌 II. 71).
8. 七日 (Sattasuriyā).§ A. VII. 62. Suriya.
N. 870, 薩鉢多酥哩踰捺野經 (厌 VIII. 2b).
N. 543, 增阿 (40. 1) 七日 (厌 II. 66b).
9. 七車 (Sattarathā). M. 24 Rathavinīta.
N. 543, 增阿, (39. 10) 七車 (厌 II. 65).
10. 漏盡 (Āsavakkhaya).‖ M. 2. Sabbāsava (諸漏).
(3) N. 559, 一切流攝守因經 (厌 VIII. 3b).
N. 543, 增阿 (40. 6) (厌 II. 70).
11. 鹽喻 (Loṇūpama)./ A. III. 99. Loṇaphala.
12. 恐破. A. IV. 195 Vappa.
13. 度.¶ A. III. 61. Tittha.
14. 羅云 (Rāhula).ℓb M. 61. Rāhulovada.

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* 木, probably 火? Place: Kosalā in Pāli and N. 544 中阿, but Magadhā (摩竭國光明池側) in N. 543. N. 544 中阿 with answers of the bhikkhus in each section.

† Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 occur at Jetavana, the place not being given in Pāli.

‡ Buddha, residing at Ghositārama in Kosambī, are asked by Mahācunda (周那) the question, Which are the *lokapuññas*.

§ 中阿 contains all the narrations, as in Pāli, about Sunetta (善眼), except the verse at the end. On the other hand N. 543. has narrations about the primitive human society, as related in the latter half of D. 27 Aggañña. N. 870 omits this part altogether.

‖ Place: Jetavana in Pāli, Kurusu Kammāssaddamma (拘樓瘦劫磨瑟曇 or 拘留國案會法) in Chinese.

/ At Jetavana Buddha tells his disciples the unavoidable consequence of every act of conduct. Just as a certain quantity of salt makes the water of the Ganges undrinkable, bad works bring to the person performing them their full measure of consequences.

¶ Place: Jetavana, not given in Pāli.

ℓb In the beginning prohibition of idle talk is added to that of falsehood. Four gāthās, the first two of which are similar to Dhammapada 306 and 308, are found after the simile of the royal elephant and five gāthās at the end.

15.	思 (Sañcetika).*	A. X. 207-208.
16.	伽藍 (Kālāmā).	A. III. 65. Kesaputtiyā (驕舍子).
17.	伽彌尼.†	?
18.	師子.‡	A. VIII. 12. Siha. (Cf. Vinaya, Mahā-v. VI. 31. 10-11).
19.	尼乾 (Niggantha).	M. 101. Devadaha (天邑).
20.	波羅牢.	S. 42. 13. Pāṭali.§
21.	等心 (Samacitta).	A. II. 4. (5-6).
22.	成就戒 (Sīlasampanna).	A. V. 166. Nirodha (滅).
23.	智 (Janatā).	S. 12. 32. Kaḷārakhattiya (黑齒).
24.	獅子吼 (Sīhanāda).‖	A. IX. 11. Vuttha (坐訖).
25.	水喻 (Udakūpama)./	A. V. 162. Āghātavinaya (除惱法).
26.	瞿尼師.¶	M. 69. Gulissāni.
27.	梵志陀然.	M. 97. Dhanañjani.
28.	教化病 (Ābādhikovada).℞	M. 143. Anāthapiṇḍika (給孤獨).
29.	大拘絺羅(Mahākoṭṭhita).@	A. IX. 13., A. IV. 174. &c.

* Place: Jetavana, not given in Pāli.

† Discourse on the ten kinds of good and bad conduct and their consequences, given by Buddha to Asita Devaputta Gāmini (? 阿私羅天子伽彌尼) in the Nanda garden (? 那羅陀園增村株林).

‡ Minute descriptions of *tapas*, as found in D. 8 Kassappa Sīhanāda, are inserted to illustrate *tapassitāya dhammam deseti*. The closing part of the Pāli from the middle of ¶ 8 to the end of ¶ 11, is omitted.

§ In the Chinese Saṃyukta this sutta is given in *uddāna* as 波多羅十問, but the text is not found.

‖ Ānanda instead of Moggallāna, who announces the *sīhanāda* of Sāriputta. Order of the similes different.

/ Or "pokkharaṇūpama"?

¶ 瞿尼師 should be 瞿(利)尼師. Descriptions of conduct more minute. Two gāthās at the end: 敬重無調笑 &c.

℞ Agreement not throughout. Compare Edmunds and Anesaki, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* p. 203, note 1.

@ A conversation between Sāriputta and Mahākoṭṭhita. First part, on *āhāra* and *dukkha*, the second on *vedanā* (A. IX. 13) and the last on *nirodha* (A. IV. 174).

30. 象跡喻.* M. 28. Hatthipadopama (mahā).

31. 分別聖諦.† M. 141. Saccavibhaṅga.

(4) N. 598. 四諦 (厌 VIII. 4b).

N. 543. 增阿 (27. 1) (厌 I. 79).

32. 未曾有法.‡ M. 123. Acchariyabbhutadhamma.

33. 侍者 (Upaṭṭhāka).§ ?

34. 鴦拘羅. M. 124. Bakkula.

35. 阿修羅 (王) (Asurinda).‖ A. VIII. 19. Pahārāda (波(訶)羅遲).

N. 543, 增阿 (42. 4) 須倫天 (厌 III. 5b).

36. 地動./ A. VIII. 70. Bhūmicāla.

N. 543, 增阿 (42. 5) 地動 (厌 III. 6).

37. 瞻波 (Campā).¶ A. VIII. 20. Uposatha (月十五日). Cf. Vinaya Culla-v. IX. 1. 4., 五分律 (曇 II. 60).

(63) N. 599, 恒水 (厌 VIII. 7).

(111) N. 672, 海八德 (宿 VII. 36a).

(73) N. 673, 法海 (宿 VII. 36b).

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* The simile of the saw &c. repeated under each of the heads, water, fire, wind, as under that of earth.

† Descriptions more minute than in Pāli and those of illness added. Cf. Takakusu, *Pāli Chresthomathy*, p, xxxi.

‡ Cf. *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, pp. 54-61.

§ Ānanda, the beloved disciple of, Buddha, is appointed the upaṭṭhāka just before Buddha's death. A conversation between Ānanda and Vajjiputta after the master's death and Vajjiputta utters the verse of the Theragāthā 119.

‖ The order of the qualities enumerated is different in each of the three versions.

/ This version contains only three of the eight causes of earthquake, viz., the first, the second and the eighth. The sermon occurs at 金剛國城名地 (the town called Bhūmi in the country of Vajira?). Both Chinese versions omit the first part, ¶ 1-9, of Pāli, and 中阿 adds at the end interesting prophecies by Buddha as to what will occur after his death. They contain some hints as to the Buddhological questions whether Buddha is man or god.

¶ Place: Sāvatthi Pubbārāma in Pāli, Campā in N. 542 中阿 and N. 673, and a river bank of 無勝國 (?), in N. 672.

38.	郁伽長者.*	A. VIII. 21. Ugga.
39.	郁伽長者.†	?
40.	手長者.‡	A. VIII. 24. Hatthaka.
41.	手長者.	A. VIII. 23. Hatthaka.
42.	何義.	A. X. 1. Kimatthiya.
43.	不思 (Na cetanāya).	A. X. 2. Cetanā.
44.	念 (Vitakka).	?
45-46.	慚愧 (Hirottapa).§	A. VIII. 81. Sati (思惟).
47.	戒.	A. X. 3. Sīla.
48.	戒 (Sila).	A. X. 4. Upanisā.
49-50.	恭敬.	A. V. 21-22. Gārava.
51.	本際 (Ito pubbe).‖	?
	(5) N. 601, 本相倚致	(戾 VIII. 7b).
	(101) N. 602, 緣本致	(戾 VIII. 8b).
52-53.	食.	A. X. 61-62. Āhāra.
54.	盡智 (Khayapaññā ?)/.	?
55.	涅槃 (Nibbāna).¶	?
56.	彌離.	A. IX. 3. Meghiya.
57.	卽爲比丘說 (Upanisā ?).Ib	A. IX. 1. Sambodhi.

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* An account of Ugga's conversion is given at the beginning.

† Ugga's charity and his conversation with Ānanda. Place: Vesali Mahāvana After Buddha's death.

‡ Hatthaka goes to his house and delights his kinsmen by repeating the sermon he had heard from Buddha. Kuvera appears and praises him.

§ Agreement not exact.

‖ Exactly the same as the following two suttas, except for the substitution of the word 習 (samudaya ?) for 食 (āhāra) and the absence of the simile of the stream.

/ Place: Kurusu Kammāssaddamma. The sermon traces the cause (習) of the *khayapaññā* (wisdom leading to the extinction of depravities) to *mokkha* (解脫), the cause of it to *arāga* (無欲) &c.

¶ Place: Jetavana. Exactly the same as the above text, only substituting *nibbāna* for *khayapaññā*.

Ib Buddha, residing at Jetavana, preaches to his disciples the five *dhammā paripakkāya* and also the four succeeding *dhammā*. The text agrees with the latter part of the former sutta, corresponding to pp. 357-358 of the Pāli texts and ot pp. 352-353, the latter of which make up the substance of A. IX. 1.

58. 七寶 (Sattaratana).* S. 46. 42. Cakkavatti (轉輪王).
N. 543, 增阿 (39. 7) (厌 II. 63).
N. 544, 雜阿 V. 4. 19. (辰 III. 58).
N. 989, 輪王七寶 (厌 VIII. 9).

59. 三十二相 (Dvātiṃsa-lakkhaṇa).† } D. 30. Lakkhaṇa.

60. 四洲 (Catudipa).‡ Divyāvadāna (pp. 210-226).
(64) N. 603, 頂生王故事 (厌 VIII. 10).
(113) N. 604, 文陀竭 (厌 VIII. 11b).

61. 牛糞喻. S. 22. 96. Gomaya.
N. 544, 雜阿, I. 1. 6. sūtra 2 (辰 II. 55b).

62. 頻鞞娑羅王迎佛. Vinaya, Mahāvagga, v. I. 22.
N. 900, 頻婆婆羅王 (厌 VIII. 12b).

63. 鞞婆陵耆 (Vebhaliṅga).§ M. 81. Ghaṭikāra (? 難提波羅).
(54) N. 745 大迦葉本.

64. 天使.‖ M. 130, Devadūta.
(124) N. 722, 四天王 (宿 VIII. 4).
(87) N. 561, 鐵城泥黎 (厌 VIII. 14).
(127) N. 560, 閻羅王五天使 (厌 VIII. 15).
N. 543, 增阿 (32. 4) 天使 (厌 II. 17).

65. 烏烏喻 (Kākūpama ?)/ ?

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* A short account of the seven *ratanas* belonging to a Cakkavatti and of the seven *bojjhangas*.

† First part of D. 30, as far as the verse.

‡ An account of a Cakkavatti Māndhātā or Mūrdhātā.

§ The Chinese version has more minute descriptions than the Pāli. One whose name is Jotipāla in Pāli is called in Chinese 優多羅 (Uttara), and his father's name is given as 無恚 (without anger). Jotipāla's friend, Ghatīkāra (or Chatīkāra), is named 難提波羅 (Nandipāla). The King of Benares is not Kīki, as in Pāli, but 頻鞞 or 頻鞞 (Bimbi or Kobi ?).

‖ Descriptions more minute and four gāthās inserted at the beginning of the accounts of the tortures in hell.

/ A Brahmin sits under a tree near a pool. Several beasts and birds come to him and complain of their miseries. Buddha explains these conversations between the Brahmin and the beasts or birds, admonishing his disciples to avoid the worldly evils and miseries. Place: Rājagaha Bamboo-grove.

66. 說本 (Apadāna ?)* Cf. Theragāthā 910-919.
(82) N. 562, 古來世時 (沃. VIII. 16).

67. 大天楂林 (Mahādeva-ambāvana).† } M. 83. Makhadeva.
N. 543, 增阿 (50. 4) 大天 (沃 III. 49).

68. 大善見王. D. 17. Mahāsudassana.
N. 545, (2) 長阿 (沃 IX. 17).‡
N. 904, 大正句王 (沃 VIII. 17b).

69. 三十喻.§ ?

70. 轉輪王. D. 26. Cakkavatti.
N. 545, 長阿 (6) 轉輪聖王修行 (沃 IX. 33).

71. 蜱肆. D. 23. Pāyāsi.
N. 545, 長阿 (7) 弊宿 (沃 IX. 33b).

72. 長壽王本起 (Dīghāyu-nidāna).|| M. 128. Upakkilesiya (疑患) (*à propo* Jātaka 428).
N. 543, 增阿 (24. 8) 長壽 (沃 I. 66).

73. 天 (Devatā)./ A. VIII. 64. Gayā.

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* This sutta is composed of three parts. The first part contains Anuruddha's recollections of his former birth. Here we have the text of Theragāthā vv. 910-919. The second part is the prophecy about Saṅka (螺 in 中 阿 and 爲 阿 (?) in N. 562), a Cakravartin. The last part gives an account of Maitreya, the future Buddha. After having prophesied the appearance of Maitreya the Master delivers a golden cloth to Ānanda to be transmitted to Maitreya. Māra comes in to oppose the act. A conversation, in verse, between Buddha and Māra closes the narrative.

† Descriptions of the Cakkavatti's jewels are inserted at the beginning. In both Chinese versions the name of the king is Mahādeva (大天). At the close, N. 543 lets Buddha say that he is the King of Truth and that Ānanda is his crown prince. Cf. Jātaka, No. 9.

‡ In the Chinese Dīrgha this text is taken *à propos* into the sutta corresponding to the Pāli Mahāparinibbāna.

§ The title means "thirty similes." Buddha resides at the Rājagaha Bamboo-grove on a certain Uposatha day. He asks Sāriputta why the bhikkhus are quite silent and whether or not they are self-indulgent (pamāda). Then he teaches Sāriputta these similes, which compare the jewels of kings and nobles with *sīla*, and their guards with *paññā* &c.

|| At the beginning of the sutta the story of the outrageous Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, and the patient Dīghati, king of Kosala, is inserted to illustrate the necessity of patience. This story is taken from Jātaka No. 428. A story of quiet elephants is inserted to describe the silent meditation of Bhagu and of Buddha in the forest Pācīnavaṃsādāya. Cf. M. 48.

/ Place: 拔提 摸 在 水 渚 林 中 (Cetisu Pācīnavaṃsādāye).

74.	八念 (Aṭṭhavitakka).	A. VIII. 30. Anuruddha (阿那律陀).
	(22) N. 563, 阿那律八念 (沃 VIII. 21).	
	N. 543. 增阿 (41. 6) 大人八念 (沃 III. 6b).*	
75.	淨不動道.	M. 106. Āneñjasappāya.
76.	郁伽支羅 (Ukkacelā).†	?
77.	娑鷄帝三族姓子.‡	M. 68. Naḷakapāna (青林).
78.	梵天請佛.§	M. 49. Brahmanimantanika.
79.	有勝天 (Parittābhā devatā).	M. 127. Anuruddha (阿那律陀).
80.	迦絺那 (Kaṭhina).‖	?
81.	念身./	M. 119. Kāyagatāsati.
82.	支離彌黎 (Ciriḷikā).¶	A. VI. 60. Citta (質多羅).
83.	長老上尊睡眠.ℏ	A. VII. 58. Pacala (first part).
	(46) N. 564, 離睡經 (沃 VIII. 22).	
84.	無刺 (Akaṇṭhaka).	A. X. 72. Kaṇṭhaka (刺).
85.	眞人.@	M. 113. Sappurisa.
	(6) N. 565, 是法非法 (沃 VIII. 23).	
86.	說處 (Desanā?).°	M. 148. Chachakka (六六).

* A very different version of the above.

† Very similar to S. 47.3. and longer in descriptions.

‡ "The three kulaputtas of Sāketa."

§ The gāthās, except the last one, failing.

‖ Anuruddha resides at Salaḷāgāra, in Sāvatthi. Bhikkhus there, admonished by Ānanda and helped by Buddha, make the three robes for Anuruddha. Then Anuruddha tells the brethren of his conversion and attainment of the six *iddhis*.

/ Place: in the land of Aṅga (鬱 鞞), at the village of Āpaṇa (阿 恕 那). Descriptions minuter.

¶ Order of the similes different from Pāli.

ℏ "The venerable elder sleeping," i.e. *thero āyasmā pacalayamāno*. For the last part of A. VII. 58, see No. 138.

@ Pride of one's own features is added. For *vinayadhara* it reads 誦 經 持 律 學 阿 毘 曇 暗 阿 含 摩 多 經 者.

° The whole sermon is delivered to Ānanda in order to be preached by him to novices. To the six six's are added the four *satipaṭṭhāns*, the four *padhāna*, the four *iddhipada* &c., and at the end is placed an uddāna of the whole sermon. These parts may be an interpolation taken from the Saṃyutta texts.

87. 穢品 (Aṅgana).* M. 5. Anaṅgana (無穢).
(65) N. 569, 求欲 (厌 VIII. 24).
N. 545, 增阿 (25. 6) 結 (厌 I. 70b).
88. 求法.† M. 3. Dhammadāyāda.
N. 543, 增阿 (18. 3) (厌 I. 34b).
89. 比丘請.‡ M. 15. Anumāna.
(47) N. 570, 受歲 (厌 VIII. 26b).
90. 知法 (Dhammaṃ-jānāmi).§ } A. X. 24. Cunda (周那).
91. 周那問見 (Cundapucchā ?).|| } M. 8. Sallekha (漸損).
92. 青白蓮華喻./ ?
93. 水淨梵志 (Sundarika).¶ M. 7. Vatthūpama (染衣喻).
(102) N. 571, 梵志計水淨 (厌 VIII. 27b).
N. 543, 增阿 (13. 5) 孫陀利 (厌 I. 23).
N. 544, 雜阿, VII. 5. Sūtra 36 (辰 IV. 55).

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* Place: Bhaggesu Sumsumāragire Bhesakalāvane Migadāye (婆奇羅在羅山怖林鹿野園) in 中阿 and N. 569, and Rājagahe Veṇuvane in N. 545. "A Bhikkhu" instead of Mahāmoggallāna in the former two. Descriptions of the *aṅganas* much longer in 中阿 than in other versions.

† The place is at Pañcasāla village, in Kosalā, and beside Sāriputta there reside Mahāmoggallāna, Mahākaccāna, Anuruddha, Revata and Ānanda. The text is much longer than the Pāli on account of some repetitions.

‡ In both Chinese versions the place is at Veḷuvana of Rājagaha. Repetitions in the Pāli text are abridged.

§ Place: Ghosiṭārāma in Kosambi. The text is a little abridged and has the simile of a man who pretends to be wealthy without being really so.

|| Place: Ghositārāma. The four *jhānas* and the four *vimuttis* are stated in a concise form.

/ "The simile of *uppasiniyam vā paduminiyam vā puṇḍarīkaṃ*," as related in M. 119. Kāyānupassi. This is a sermon on good and bad conduct, the purity of a good man's mind being compared with lotus.

¶ 中阿 and N. 571 ascribe this discourse to Sundarika soon after Buddha's attainment of enlightenment at Uruvelā, and make no mention of the place where he told this story to his disciples. N. 571, omits certain verses. N. 543 enumerates the faiths in the three jewels and *iddhis* among virtues of an ariyasāvaka, in addition to the four *vimuttis*.

94.	黑比丘 (Kalaka).	A. X. 87. Adhikaraṇa (鬪諍).
95.	住法 (Dhammanāthakaraṇa).	A. X. 17. Nātha (增?).
96.	無 (Natthi?).*	?
97.	大因.	D. 15. Mahānidāna.
	N. 933, 大生義 (厌 VIII. 28b).	
	N. 545, 長阿 (13) 大緣方便 (厌 IX. 50).	
	(11) N. 553 人本欲生 (厌 X. 75b).	
98.	念處.†	M. 10. Satipaṭṭhāna.
	N. 543, 增阿 (12. 1) (厌 I. 18b).	
99.	苦陰.	M. 13. Dukkhakkhandha.
	(26) N. 578, 苦陰 (厌 VIII. 30b).	
	N. 543, 增阿, (21. 9) 苦陰 (厌 I. 48b).	
100.	苦陰.	M. 14. Dukkhakkhandha.
	(66) N. 579, 苦陰因事 (厌 VIII. 31b).	
	(31) N. 580, 釋摩訶南四子 (厌 VIII. 31b).	
101.	增上心 (Adhicitta).	M. 20. Vitakkasanthāna (一意得定).
102.	念 (Vitakka).	M. 19. Dvedhāvitakka.

* Sāriputta admonishes the brethren to faithfulness to the law and absence (*natthi?*) of vices.

† Numbering the sections according to the Dīgha text of Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna, we have the following sections in Chinese:

1.	Introduction,	Pāli 1.
2.	Going, sitting &c.,	„ 3.
3.	Bodily behaviors,	„ 4.
4.	Cessation of bad thoughts.	
5.	Contact of teeth.	
6.	Respiration,	Pāli 2.
7-12.	Joy, meditation &c.	M. 119. Kāyānupassī.
13-14.	Bodily structure,	Pāli 5-6.
15.	Dead body,	„ 7.
16-20.	Dissolution of body.	
21-22.	Sensations and will,	Pāli 8-9.
23.	Six senses,	„ 12.
24.	Five obstacles,	„ 10.
25.	Seven divisions of bodhi,	„ 13.
26.	Conclusion,	„ 15.

103. 師子吼.* M. 11. Sihanāda (Cūḷa).

104. 優曇婆羅.† D. 25. Udumbarika.

N. 455, 長阿 (8) 散陀那 (沃 IX. 39b).

N. 951, 尼拘陀梵志 (沃 X. 60b).

105. 願. M. 6. Ākaṅkheya.

106. 想.‡ M. 1. Mūlapariyāya.

(48) N. 566, 樂想 (沃 VIII. 34).

107-108. 林.§ M. 17. Vanapatha.

109-110. 自觀心. A. X. 51 and 54. Sacitta.

111. 達梵行 (Nibbedhika-pariyāya).‖ } A. VI. 63. Nibbedhika.

(7) N. 567, 漏分布 (沃 VIII. 34b).

112. 阿奴波 (Anuppa ?)./ A. VI. 62. Udaka (水).

(88) N. 568, 阿耨風 (沃 VIII. 36).

113. 諸法本 (Dhammamūlā). { A. VIII. 83. A. X. 58. } Mūlā.

(32) N. 590, 諸法本 (沃 VIII. 37b).

114. 優陀羅 (Udra).¶ S. 35. 103. Uddaka.

115. 蜜丸喻. M. 18. Madhupiṇḍika.

N. 545, 增阿 (40. 9) (沃 II. 72b).

116. 瞿曇彌 (Gotami). { A. VIII. 51. Dhammika. Vinaya, Culla-v. X. 1. Gotami.

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* Place: Kurusu Kammāssaddamme.

† Place: Gijjhakūṭa in Pāli, Veḷuvāna in 中阿 and Sattapaṇṇa-cave on the Vihāra hill in N. 455. Ṇigrodha is rendered in 中阿 "without anger" (無瞋, Nikodha ?).

‡ Place: Jetavana, instead of Ukkaṭṭha in Pāli.

§ No. 107, agrees with M. 17, the last part being abridged. No. 108 is a duplicate of No. 107, substituting "the extinction of depravities" (漏盡) for "the aim of ascetic life" (沙門義).

‖ A sermon delivered at Kammāssaddamma on the three āsavas (漏), the three vedanās (覺) the five kāmas (欲) &c. Order of enumeration different.

/ Place: Anuppe (?) Vajjīnaṃ nigame Vajjīsu, instead of Kosalā in Pāli. Order of similes different.

¶ Verses dissolved into prose. At the close the six senses and the three kinds of them (vedanā) are explained as *gaṇḍamūla*.

(128) N. 591, 瞿曇彌記果 (戾 VIII. 38).

117. 柔輭 A. III. 38-39. Sukhumāla.

118. 龍象.† A. VI. 43. Nāga.

119. 說處. A. III. 67. Kathāvatthu.

120. 無常 (Anicca). S. 22. 76. Arahanta (無著).

121. 請請. S. 8. 7. Pavāraṇā (請請時).

N. 544, 雜阿, VII. 8. Sūtra 5 (辰 IV. 63).

N. 546, 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 76).

N. 923, 鮮夏 (宿 VIII. 6).

N. 543, 增阿 (32. 5) 歲 (戾 II. 18b).

122. 瞻波 (Campā). A. VIII. 10. Kāraṇḍava (穢麥).

(67) N. 600, 瞻婆比丘 (戾 VIII. 39b).

123. 沙門二十億耳 (Soṇa Koḷivisa). A. VI. 55. Soṇa.

N. 543, 增阿 (23. 3) 耳 (戾 I. 54b).

N. 544, 雜阿, II. 2. sūtra 72 (辰 II. 51).

124. 八難. A. VIII. 29. Akkhaṇā vuṭṭhā.

N. 543, 增阿 (42. 1) 非時 (戾 III. 1).

125. 貫窮. A. VI. 45. Dālidya.

126. 行欲.‡ A. X. 91. Kāmabhogī.

(68) N. 572, 伏婬 (戾 VIII. 40b).

127. 福田 (Dakkhiṇeya). A. II. 4. 4.

N. 544, 雜阿, VI. I. sūtra 13 (辰 III. 112a).

128. 優婆塞 (Upāsaka). A. V. 179, Gīhi (在家).

129. 怨家.§ A. VII. 60. Kodhanā.

130. 數曇彌. A. VI. 54. Dhammika.

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* Sections 1—6 of the Pāli text are concise and are related as the recollections of Buddha's luxurious life in his father's house.

† Dividing the Pāli verse into 16 Gāthās we have in Chinese, 1, 2, 3, two padas, 4a, 5a, 4b, 5b, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10a, two padas, 10b, two padas, 11—16.

‡ With three Gāthās at the close, which begin with words something like "Sace adhammena bhoge pariyesati" (若非法求財).

§ Place: Jetavana. Kadalimigapavarapaccattharaṇa is transcribed 迦 (ka), 隣 (lin), 伽 (ga), 波 (pa), 和 (va), 羅 (ra), 波 (pa), 遮 (ca), 悉 (s), 多 (tha), 羅 (ra), 那 (na). Dividing the Pāli verse into 16 Gāthās we have in Chinese, 1, 3, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 8, 12, 14, 13, 15, 16.

131. 降魔. M. 50. Māratajjaniya.
(27) N. 573, 魔燒亂 (沃 VIII. 41b).
(33) N. 574, 獘魔試目連 (沃 VIII. 43b).
132. 賴吒和羅. M. 82. Raṭṭhapāla.
(34) N. 594, 賴吒和羅 (沃 VIII. 45).*
N. 929, 護國 (沃 VIII. 47b).
133. 優婆離. M. 56. Upāli.
134. 釋問. D. 21. Sakkapañhā.
N. 545, 長阿, (14) 釋桓因問 (沃 IX. 51b).
N. 924, 帝釋所問 (沃 VIII. 50).
N. 1329, 雜寶藏經六卷初 (宿 X. 25b).
135. 善生† (Sujāta?). D. 31. Siṅgālaka.
N. 545, (16) 善生 (沃 IX. 57b).
(12) N. 555, 尸迦羅越六方禮 (沃 X. 82).
(78) N. 595, 善生子 (沃 VIII. 53b).
136. 商人求財.‡ Jātaka No. 196. Valāhassa (駄馬).
N. 543, 增阿 (45. 1) (沃 III. 19).
137. 世間. A. IV. 23. Loka.
138. 滿 (Puñña). A. VII. 58. (last part).§
139. 息止道.‖ S. Nip. Vijaya.
140. 至邊 (Anta). Itivuttaka 91. Jīvita (生活).
N. 714, 本事 II. 32. (長 VI. 38)./
141. 喻 (Upama).¶ S. 3. 2. 7-8. Appamāda (不放逸)
Cf. Itivuttaka 23. Ubho atthe.

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* This version turns the verses into prose.

† Place: Veluvana in Pāli, Gijjhakūṭa in N. 545 and 595., Kukkuṭa giri? (鷄山) in N. 555 and 餧蝦蟆林 (forest abounding in frogs) in N. 542.

‡ "The merchants seeking after wealth." The descriptions are more minute than in Jātaka.

§ Just the passage which Hardy puts in square brackets. This is given as a separate sermon delivered at Jetavana. The descriptions of the heavenly worlds are minuter.

‖ With a short introduction in prose. Agreement not perfect.

/ This version has quite different verses.

¶ Comparisons of *appamāda* with many other things which are the best among their respective categories, as found at the close of M. 107.

N. 454, 雜阿, VII. 4. sūtra 13. (辰 IV. 70b).
N. 456, 別雜, ditto 一法 (辰 V. 22).
Cf. N. 714. 本事 I. 12. (辰 VI. 23).

142. 雨勢. { A. VII. 20. Vassakāra.
D.16, Mahāparinibbāna I. 1-11.

N. 545, (2) 長阿, 遊行 (戾 IX. 9b-7).
N. 543, 增阿 (40. 2). (戾 II. 68b).

143. 傷歌羅. A. III. 60, Saṅgārava.

144. 算數目揵連. M. 107. Gaṇakamoggallāna.
(69) N. 596. 數 (戾 VIII. 55b).

145. 瞿默目揵連. M. 108. Gopakamoggallāna.

146. 象跡喻. M. 27. Hatthipadopama (Cūḷa).

147. 聞德 (Jānussoṇi).* ?

148. 何苦 (Kim dukkham).† ? (cf. A. V. 31. verses).
N. 543, 增阿 (2. 8) 月喻 (戾 I. 32).

149. 何欲 (Kim adhipāyā). A. VI. 52. Khattiya (剎利).
N. 543, 增阿 (38. 10). (戾 II. 49b-50).

150. 鬱瘦歌羅.‡ M. 96. Esukāri.

151. 阿攝想 (Asva).§ M. 93. Assalāyana.
(89) N. 597, 頻波羅延 (戾 VIII. 57).‖

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* Buddha resides at Jetavana. He instructs Jānussoṇi in the various degrees of ascetic life and its completion.

† Buddha resides at Jetavana. Jānussoṇi (生聞) comes to him and asks several questions as to the benefits of the ascetic life and Buddha teaches him the necessity of association with good men (*kalyāṇamittatā*). At the close good men are compared with the waxing moon and the simile is given again in verse, as in A. V. 31.

‡ The discourse on the kinds of service is repeated. Esukāri, in arguing for the difference of properties, introduces the simile of a shepherd losing sight of his herd. This simile is not found in Pāli. The Chinese text is longer than the Pāli.

§ In the text his name is given as 阿攝想羅延多; if we leave out this last 多, we can read Asvalāyana. On account of repetitions the text is a little longer than the Pāli.

‖ The title 頻波羅延 reads Ampalāyana; but 波 may be a mistake for 娑 *sa*, then it reads *assalāyana*.

152.	鸚鵡.*	M. 99. Subha.
153.	鬚 (摩?) 閑提.†	M. 75. Māgandiya.
154.	婆羅婆堂 (Bhāradvāja).	D. 27. Aggañña.
	N. 544, 長阿 (5) 小緣.	
155.	須達多 (Sudatta).	A. IX. 20. Velāma (隨藍).‡
	(132) N. 606. 須達 (民 VIII. 58b).	
	N. 848, 長者施報 (民 VIII. 59b).	
	(103) N. 605, 慈心厭離功德 (民 VIII. 61b).	
	N. 543, 增阿 (民 I. 80).	
156.	梵波羅延 (Brahma-pārāyana).	S. Nip. (19) Brahmānadhammika.
157.	黃蘆園 (Naḷerupucimanda).	A. VIII. 11. Verañja (韓闍若).
	(121) N. 607, 黃竹園老婆羅門說學 (民 VIII. 61b).	
158.	頭那.	A. V. 192. Doṇa.
159.	阿伽羅訶那.§	?
160.	阿蘭那 (珂).‖	A. VII. 70. Araka.
161.	梵摩./	M. 91. Brahmāyu.
	(35) N. 608, 梵摩瑜 (民 VIII. 62b).	
162.	分別六界.¶	M. 140. Dhātu-vibhaṅga.

* For this rendering of the title, see No. 170. Some of the questions Buddha asks are given first as they are thought of in his mind and then expressed in words.

† The last part abridged and all the verse part in prose.

‡ 隨, a mistake for 頞 (Ve)? This confusion occurs very often.

§ "Agrahaṇa"? Buddha residing at Jetavana, in response to questions by a Brahmin Agrahaṇa, traces the causes of existence, from Veda to man, from man to matter, from matter to sun, and finally to Nibbāna.

‖ The story is told by Buddha to his disciples at Jetavana. After a short remark on life and death, he says that when human life was longer (corresponding to the beginning of ¶3.) there ruled a Cakkavatti Koravya (拘牟婆). At that time Araka appeared. Then the narration of his ascetic life is longer than in ¶3. Then occur the similes as in ¶2.

/ The conversation between Brahmāyu and Buddha in verse is different. First Brahmāyu asks Buddha about his genital organ and then comes the praise.

¶ Preceeding the simile of an oil lamp there are two similes: one, of the fire produced by the rubbing together of pieces of wood, which illustrates the extinction of *vedanās*, and the other, of purifying gold to illustrate the rise of mind to the infinite by means of meditation.

163. 分別六處. M. 137. Saḷāyatana-vibh.
164. 分別觀法. M. 138. Uddesa-vibh.
165. 溫泉林天 (Tapodavana-devatā). M. 133. Kaccāna-bhaddekaratta (迦旃延跋地羅帝偈).
166. 釋中禪室尊.* M. 134. Lomasakaṅgiya-bhad.
(49) N. 609, 尊上 (沃 VIII. 65).
167. 阿難說. M. 132. Ānanda-bhad.
168. 意行.† M. 120. Saṅkhāruppatti.
169. 拘樓度無諍 (Kurusu Araṇa).‡ M. 139. Araṇa-vibhaṅga (無諍分別).
170. 鸚鵡 (Subha, or Suka).§ M. 135. Kamma-vibhaṅga (Cūḷa) (業分別).
N. 783, 分別善惡報應 (沃 VIII. 66).
(83) N. 611, 兜調 (沃 VIII. 71).
(117) N. 610, 鸚鵡 (沃 VIII. 72).
(133) N. 739, 佛爲首迦長者說業報差別 (宿 VI. 63).
171. 分別大業.‖ M. 136. Kamma-vibh. (Mahā).
172. 心 (citta). A. IV. 186. Ummagga (賢道).
(50) N. 612, 意 (沃 VIII. 74b).

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* "The meditation hall in the land of Sakkas" where Lomasakaṅgiya (盧夷强嘗) resides. The place where these verses were uttered by Buddha, as is told by the devatā, is not in the heavenly world but in Rājagaha.

† At the close the simile of sterilized milk.

‡ Place: Kurusu Kammāssaddamme.

§ The text of all the Chinese versions must have read Suka or Çuka (i.e. parrot) instead of Subha. In all these versions the circumstance which caused the son of Todeyya to come to Buddha is given as follows: His white dog, whose name is given as Caṅki in N. 783, barked at Buddha. On being scolded for it by Buddha, the dog comes to Subha and seems to be much distressed. Subha, being angry at Buddha's behaviour toward his beloved dog, comes to Buddha. Then Buddha tells how Subha's father, Todeyya, was born as a dog on account of his pride. After this episode the text agrees with the Pāli. N. 783 is a much expanded version, and N. 739 also does not exactly agree with the others.

‖ Mahācunda accompanies Ānanda. There is no mention of Uḍāyi. At the close occurs a simile of ripe and unripe mango fruit, compared with four kinds of men according to their merits.

173.	浮彌.*	M. 126. Bhūmija.
174.	受法.	M. 45. Dhammasamādāna.
175.	受法.†	M. 46. Dhammasamādāna.
	(51) N. 614, 應法 (大 VIII. 75).	
176.	行禪.‡	?
177.	說.§	?
178.	獵師 (Nevaka).	M. 25. Nivāpa (獵師食).
179.	五支物主 (Pañcakaṅgiya).	M. 78. Sāmaṇamuṇḍika (沙門文祁).
180.	瞿曇彌 (Gotamī).‖	M. 142. Dakkhiṇāvisuddhi (淨施).
	N. 930, 分別布施 (大 VIII. 76).	
181.	多界./	M. 115. Bahudhātuka.
182.	馬邑.¶	M. 39. Assapura.
183.	馬邑.	M. 40. Assapura.

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* Jīvasena (耆婆先那) instead of Jāyasena. The simile of oil comes first.

† Place: Kammāssaddamma in Kuru. Agreement nearly perfect.

‡ "The practice of Jhāna." The four kinds of men who practise jhāna and cautions about practising it. Place: Jetavana.

§ The four kinds of sermons, after which the text is nearly the same as No. 176. Place: Kammāssaddamma.

‖ Before the four kinds of pure donations the twofold seven kinds of puñña are enumerated, somewhat as in No. 7. I have sought in vain for the text agreeing with these in the Sattakanipāta of the Pāli Aṅguttara.

/ The simile at the opening, which, in Pāli, is used by Buddha in speaking to his disciples, is thought out first in Ānanda's mind, and then repeated by Buddha. The number of the dhātus enumerated are summed up and given as 62. After the statement of the three kinds of conduct, the five *upakkilesas*, the four *satipaṭṭhānas* and the seven *bojjhaṅgas* are enumerated. At the close a division of the discourse into four sections is made, and the title of the sutta is designated by Buddha. The sections are: 多界法界甘露界多鼓法鼓甘露鼓法鏡 (bahu-dhātu-dhamma-dhātu-amata-dhātu-bahu-duṇḍubim-dhamma-duṇḍubim-amata-duṇḍubim-dhamma-ādāsa ?). We do not know how to divide this uddāna into four.

¶ The text is much abridged.

184.	牛角娑羅林.*	M. 32. Gosiṅga.
	N. 543, 增阿 (37. 3). (沃 II. 46b).	
185.	牛角娑羅林.	M. 31. Gosiṅga.
186.	求鮮.†	M. 47. Vīmaṃsaka.
187.	說智 (Ñāna).‡	M. 112. Chavisodhana (六漏盡).
188.	阿夷那.§	A. X. 116. Ajina. (& A. X. 115).
189.	聖道 (Ariyamagga).‖	M. 117. Cattārīsaka (四十大法).
190.	小空.	M. 121. Suññatā, (cūḷa).
191.	大空.	M. 122. Suññatā, (mahā).
192.	迦樓烏陀夷 (Kāla ? Udāyi)./	M. 66. Laṭukikopama (蠅喻).
193.	牟梨破群那 (Moliya Phagguṇa).	M. 21. Kakacūpama (利刀鋸喻).
	N. 543, 增阿 (50. 8.) 鉄鉗 (沃 III. 53b).	
194.	跋陀和利.¶	M. 65. Bhaddāli.
195.	阿濕貝 (自) (Assaji).ℓb	M. 70. Kiṭāgiri (迦羅頞).

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* Besides the other theras there is Mahākaccāna. He plays the rôle of Moggallāna in Pāli and the utterances of Moggallāna which we find in Chinese are wanting in Pāli. This version is more in accordance with the respective excellences of the two, as mentioned in A. I. 14, i.e. that Kaccāna is the man of analytical and intellectual mind and that Moggallāna is excellent in his attainment of supernatural powers.

† Place: Kurusu Kammāssaddamma. The verses are wanting.

‡ The descriptions of Buddha's tapas are more minute.

§ Place: Migamātā's Pubbārāma in Sāvatthi. Ajina's master is named 婆頭 (Vantu ?). The latter half of the Pāli text treating of erroneous ways is replaced, in Ānanda's explanation of the sermon, by the simile of *sara*, as found in A. X. 115.

‖ Place: Kammāssaddamma. The passage stating that these are the forty laws is repeated.

/ There are more repetitions as answers of Udāyi. Laṭukikopama has a different reading (or version). It says, a fly may die, being caught in a drop of spit or tear. Has the text read *makkhikā* instead of *laṭukikā ?*

¶ After the four *jhānas* the three *vijjās* are stated.

ℓb More repetitions.

196.	周那 (Cunda).*	M. 104. Sāmagāma (舍彌村).
	N. 945, 息諍因緣 (民 VIII. 77).	
197.	優波離 (Upāli).†	Vinaya, Mah. IX. 6. (1-8).
198.	調御地.	M. 125. Dantabhūmi.
199.	癡慧地.	M. 129. Bālapaṇḍita.
	(90) N. 575, 泥黎 (民 VIII. 79).	
200.	阿黎吒 (Ariṭṭha).	M. 22. Alagaddūpama (筏喻).
201.	嗏帝 (Sāti).‡	M. 38. Taṇhāsaṅkhaya (Mahā) (大苦陰滅).
202.	持齋. (Uposatha)§	A. VIII. 43. Visākhā (毘舍佉).
	(36) N. 577, 齋 (民 VIII. 82b).	
	(122) N. 576, 優陂夷墮舍佉 (民 VIII. 83b).	
	(129) N. 701, 八關齋 (民 VIII. 84).	
203.	哺多利.‖	M. 54. Potaliya.
204.	羅摩 (Rammaka)./	M. 26. Ariyapariyesana (聖求).

* The village Sāmagāma is said to be in the country of the Sakkas in Pāli, but in that of the Vajjis in Chinese. Pāvā, where Jina died, gave the occasion to this discourse, and it seems more probable that Sāmagāma was near Pāvā. If this supposition were right, the Chinese tradition might be right. Cf. Neumann, Vol. III. p. 42, Note 1.

† Place: on the bank of the Gaṅgā at Campā.

‡ The last part where the ascetic practice of Buddha is described in Pāli is much abridged in Chinese. At the close the three thousand great worlds tremble and shake (as is often stated in Mahāyānist texts).

§ Deviation between the two traditions is great. In contrast to the eight excellences of Buhdha's Uposatha two, one of a goplāaka and another of a Nigantha, are described. Then the true uposatha is described at much greater length than in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Pāli text. The verses are wanting.

‖ Place: Nālandāyam Pāvārikambavane (那羅大波和利林園), instead of Āpana. Between the simile of a pit filled with fire and that of a vain dream there is inserted another of a poisonous snake. Cf. No. 200 and M. 22.

/ This is the text which first called my attention to, and aroused my interest in, the comparison of the Chinese Madhyama and the Pāli Majjhima. There are more deviations between these two than in the cases of other suttas; still the essential agreement is undeniable and the deviations are only in details. Two great differences are that the Chinese text omits the passage on Brahmā's admonition and adds a pretty long passage on the middle way (民 VII 75b lines 3-10) before the statement on the five passions (i.e. between lines 20 and 21, p. 173 of the Pāli text). Cf. 現身佛と法身佛 pp. 20-43.

205.	五下分結 (Pañc' oraṃ-bhāginiyāni saṃyojanāni)!	M. 64. Māluṅkya (鬘).
206.	心穢.	M. 16. Cetokhila.
	N. 543, 增阿 (50. 4), (沃 III. 57).	
207.	箭毛.*	M. 77. Sakuludāyi (Mahā).
208.	箭毛.	M. 79. Sakuludāyi (Cūḷa).
209.	鞞摩那修 (Vemanasu ?).†	M. 80. Vekhanasa.
	(118) N. 581, 鞞摩肅 (沃 VIII. 85).	
210.	法樂比丘尼 (Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā).‡	M. 44. Vedalla (Cūḷa).
211.	大拘絺羅 (Mahākoṭṭhita).§	M. 43. Vedalla (Mahā).
212.	一切智 (?).‖	M. 90. Kaṇṇakatthalā (普鞞剌林).

* The last part, containing the descriptions of the four *jhānas* and the similes associated with them, is abridged. Cf. Nos. 182, 81.

† There is an addition of nine lines after the statement of the five passions. The first part of the passage says that Vekhanasa was satisfied with Buddha's sermon and the second part that he was unsatisfied. This may be an insertion made by mistake. After the simile of a baby there are added two similes, one of an oil lamp and another of fire.

‡ Place: Jetavana. Generally and especially the passages on *avijjā* and on *nibbāna* are much longer.

§ There are three additions to the Pāli text. The first, before the statement of the four truths, is a conversation on the *kusala* and the *akusala* (善 不 善); the second, on the three *vedanās* (覺), instead of the five qualities of the first *jhāna*; the third, after the explanation of death and before that of the four conditions of the *vimutti*, explains the three *phassas* (觸).

‖ In salutations and conversations there are more repetitions. One curious utterance by Buddha occurs in these salutations but is not found in the Pāli. Whenever he asks about the health of Pasenadi or of his sisters he says: "Is now Pasenadi (or are others) well; is now his (or, her) body well, which belongs to devas or man or asuras or gandhabba or rakkhasa or any other beings?"

213. 法莊嚴.* M. 89. Dhammacetiya.
214. 韓訶提 (Vehati?). M. 88. Bāhitikā.
215. 第一得 (Aggam). A. X. 29. Kosalā (拘薩羅).
216. 愛生.† M. 87. Piyajātika.
(8) N. 582, 婆羅門子命終愛念不離 (沃 VIII. 86).
M. 543, 增阿 (13. 3) 竹牌 (沃 I. 21b).
217. 八城.‡ M. 52. Aṭṭhakanāgara.
(9) N. 583, 十支居士八城人 (沃 VIII. 87).
218-219. 阿那律陀 (Anuruddha).§ ?
220. 見 (Diṭṭhi).|| A. VII. 51. Avyākata.
(104) N. 584, 邪見 (沃 VIII. 88).
221. 箭喻 (Sallūpama). M. 63. Māluṅkya (Cūḷa) (鬘).
(105) N. 585, 箭喻 (沃 VIII. 88b).
222. 例./ ?

Summing up the comparisons given above, we have among the 222 suttas in the Chinese Madhyama Collection the following

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* When Pasenadi arrives before the abode of Buddha there are assembled many bhikkhus. Pasenadi asks them where Buddha now is. They say that the door (or window, 牖) of Buddha's room is closed and that so the king should knock at the door. This description is given in brief in M. 89 but not in M. 90; on the contrary 中 阿 Nos. 212 and 213 give minute descriptions of these things. What Pasenadi has seen and states in contrast with Buddha's virtues is narrated in different successions. Isidatta is rendered 仙 餘 and Purāṇa 宿 舊.

† We see here that Nos. 112-116 make up a group of texts with reference to Pasenadi.

‡ 中 阿 states that this conversation took place after Buddha's death. Twelve instead of eleven gateways to immortality occur in both Chinese versions.

§ Both at Jetavana. Bhikkhus come to Anuruddha and are taught how to prepare for death by practicing jhāna and attaining to the three iddhis. The texts are very similar to those in the Saṃyutta 52, Anuruddha section.

|| In A. this is a sermon delivered by Buddha to a bhikkhu, but in Chinese versions it is by Ānanda and as delivered after Buddha's death.

/ "Enumerations" of the ways leading to the extinction of *avijjā*, i.e. of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, the four *iddhipādas* &c. Cf. No. 86.

constituents:

Those texts found in Pāli	
Majjhima	99
Aṅguttara	75
Dīgha	9
Saṃyutta	8
Khuddaka	5
Vinaya	2
in Divyāvadāna	1
not yet identified	22
	221

These 23 texts which are not yet identified are as follows:

7.	世間福.	76.	郁伽支羅.
11.	鹽喻.	80.	迦絺那.
17.	伽彌尼.	92.	青白蓮華.
33.	侍者.	96.	無.
39.	郁伽.	147.	聞德.
44.	念.	148.	何苦.
51.	本際.	159.	阿伽羅訶那.
54.	盡智.	176.	行禪.
55.	涅槃.	177.	說.
65.	鳥喻.	218-219.	阿那律陀.
69.	三十喻.	222.	例.

(Table VIII). THE PĀLI MAJJHIMA TEXTS AND THEIR CHINESE COUNTERPARTS.

1.	Mūlapariyāya.	106.	想	(厌 VI. 29b f),
2.	Sabbāsava.	10.	漏盡	(厌 V. 13 f).
3.	Dhammadāyāda.	88.	求法	(厌 VI. 8b f).
4.	Bhayabherava (苦患).	N. 543.	增阿	(31. 1.) 增長 (厌 II. 10).
5.	Anaṅgaṇa.	87.	穢品	(厌 VI. 5b f).

6.	Ākaṅkheya.	105. 願	(厌 VI. 29).
7.	Vatthūpama.	93. 水淨梵志	(厌 VI. 12b f).
8.	Sallekha.	91. 周那問見	(厌 VI. 11b).
9.	Sammādiṭṭhi.	N. 543. 增阿 (49.5) 因緣法	(厌 III. 41-42).
10.	Satipaṭṭhāna.	90. 念處	(厌 VI. 18b f).
11.	Cūḷa-sīhanāda.	103. 師子吼	(厌 VI. 25 f).
12.	Mahā-sīhanāda (師子吼).	Cf N. 543. 增阿 (46. 4), 力 (厌 III. 24). N. 544, 雜阿, V. 3. 36. (辰 III. 52).	
13.	Mahā-dukkhakkhandha.	99. 苦陰	(厌 VI. 20b f).
14.	Cūḷa-dukkhakkhandha.	100. 苦陰	(厌 VI. 21b f).
15.	Anumāna.	89. 比丘請	(厌 VI. 10 f).
16.	Cetokhila.	206. 心穢	(厌 VII. 77b).
17.	Vanapatha.	107-108. 林	(厌 VI. 30 f).
18.	Madhupiṇḍika.	115. 蜜丸喻	(厌 VI. 35b f).
19.	Dvedhāvitakka.	102. 念	(厌 VI. 24 a).
20.	Vitakkasanthāna.	101. 增上心	(厌 VI. 23 a).
21.	Kakacūpama.	193. 牟黎破群那	(厌 VII. 48 f).
22.	Alagaddūpama.	200. 阿黎吒	(宿 VII. 63 f).
23.	Vammīka.	N. 986. 蟻喻	(厌 VIII. 7).
24.	Rathavinīta.	9. 七車	(厌 V. 11b f).
25.	Nivāpa.	178. 獵師	(厌 VII. 27b f).
26.	Ariyapariyesana.	204. 羅摩	(厌 VII. 73b f).
27.	Cūḷa-hatthipadopama.	146. 象跡喻	(厌 VI. 78 f).
28.	Mahā-hatthipadopama.	30. 象跡喻	(厌 V. 39b f).
29.	Mahā-sāropma. (樹喻).	N. 543. 增阿 (43. 4.) 提婆	(厌 III 10-11).
30.	Cūḷa-sāropama	?	
31.	Cūḷa-gosiṅga.	185. 牛角娑羅林	(厌 VII. 36b f).
32.	Mahā-gosiṅga.	184. 牛角娑羅林	(厌 VII. 34b f)
33.	Mahā-gopālaka.	N. 544. 雜阿, VI. 2. 4. (辰 IV. 73b). N. 543. 增阿 (489. 1.) 牧牛	(厌 III. 38b).

34.	Cūḷa-gopālaka.	N. 544. 雜阿, VI. 2. 3. (辰 IV. 73a). N. 543. 增阿, (43. 6) 牧牛 (戾 III. 12b).
35.	Cūḷa-saccaka.	N. 544. 雜阿, I. 1. 15. sūtra 9 (辰 II. 28 f). N. 543. 增阿 (37. 10) 薩遮 (戾 II. 50 f).
36.	Mahā-saccaka.	?
37.	Cūḷa-taṇhāsaṅkhaya. (愛盡)	N. 544. 雜阿 IV. 2. Sūtra 5. (辰 III. 7a). N. 543. 增阿 (19. [illegible] 所愛 ([illegible] 39b).
38.	Mahā-taṇhāsaṅkhaya.	201. 嗟帝鷄和哆子 (戾 VII. 66b f).
39.	Mahā-assapura.	182. 馬邑 (戾 VII. 33).
40.	Cūḷa-assapura.	183. 馬邑 (戾 VII. 33b f).
41.	Sāleyyaka.	?
42.	Verañjaka.	?
43.	Mahā-vedalla.	211. 大拘絺羅 (戾 VII. 85 f).
44.	Cūḷa-vedalla.	210. 法樂比丘尼 (戾 VII. 83b f).
45.	Cūḷa-dhammasamādāna.	174. 受法 (戾 VII. 22 f).
46.	Mahā-dhammsamādāna.	175. 受法 (戾 VII. 23 f).
47.	Vīmaṃsaka.	186. 求解 (戾 VII. 38 f).
48.	Kosambiya.	N. 543. 增阿 (24. 8). 長壽 (戾 I. 66).
49.	Brahmanimantanika.	78. 梵天請佛 (戾 V. 106 f).
50.	Māratajjaniya.	131. 降魔 (戾 VI. 49b f).
51.	Kandaraka.	?
52.	Aṭṭhakanāgara.	217. 八城 (戾 VII. 94b f).
53.	Sekhapaṭipadā (學處)	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 5. 13. 無漏法 (Anāsavadhamma). (辰 IV. 50b).
54.	Potaliya.	203. 哺多利 (戾 VII. 71b f).
55.	Jīvaka.	?
56.	Upāli.	133. 優波離 (戾 VI. 55b f).
57.	Kukkuravatika.	?
58.	Abhayarājakumāra.	?
59.	Bahuvedaniya.	?

60.	Apaṇṇaka.	?
61.	Rāhulovāda.	14. 羅云 (民 V. 16b f).
62.	Mahā-rāhulovāda.	N. 543. 增阿 (17. 1.) 羅雲 (民 I. 29b).
63.	Cūḷa-māluṅkya.	221. 箭喻 (民 VII. 96b f).
64.	Mahā-māluṅkya.	205. 五下分結 (民 VII. 76 f).
65.	Bhaddāli.	194. 跋陁和利 (民 VII. 50b f).
66.	Laṭukikopama.	192. 加樓烏陀夷 (民 VII. 45b f.)
67.	Cātumā (四衢).	N. 543. 增阿 (45. 2) (民 III. 20). (25) N. 625. 逝四衢.
68.	Naḷakapāna.	77. 娑雞帝三族姓子 (民 V. 104 f).
69.	Gulissāni.	26. 瞿尼師 (民 V. 31b f).
70.	Kiṭāgiri.	195. 阿濕貝 (民 VII. 53 f).
71.	Cūḷa-vacchagotta.	?
72.	Aggivacchagotta (娑蹉種)	N. 544. 雜阿, VIII. 6. 6. (辰 III. 101b f). N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 66).
73.	Mahā-vacchagotta. (,,)	N. 544. 雜阿, VIII. 6. 8. (辰 III. 102 f). N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 66b).
74.	Dīghanakha (長爪).	N. 544. 雜阿, VIII. 7. 5. (辰 III. 104). N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 69).
75.	Māgandiya.	153. 鬚閑提 (辰 VI. 89b f).
76.	Sandaka.	?
77.	Mahā-sakuludāyi.	207. 箭毛 (民 VII. 78b f).
78.	Sāmaṇamuṇḍika.	179. 五支物主 (民 VII. 29 f).
79.	Cūḷa-sakuludāyi.	208. 箭毛 (民 VII. 80 f).
80.	Vekhanasa.	209. 韝摩那修 (民 VII. 82 f).
81.	Ghaṭikāra.	63. 鞞婆陵耆 (民 V. 67b f).
82.	Raṭṭhapāla.	132. 賴吒恕羅 (民 VI. 51b f).
83.	Makhadeva.	67. 大天捺林 (民 V. 78 f).
84.	Madhura (摩偷羅).	N. 544. 雜阿, IV. 5. 3. (辰 III. 14).

85.	Bodhirājakumāra.	?	
86.	Aṅgulimāla(央掘利摩羅)	N. 544. 雜阿, VII. 1. 16. 賊 (辰 IV. 20b).	
		N. 546. 別雜, ditto (辰 V. 6).	
		N. 543. 增阿 (38. 6) 鴦俱魔 (沃 II. 54—55).	
		(43) N. 621. 鴦堀魔(沃 IV. 24).	
		(62) N. 622. 鴦堀髻(沃 IV. 25).	
87.	Piyajātika.	216.	愛生 (沃 VII. 93b f).
88.	Bāhitikā.	214.	鞞訶提 (沃 VII. 91 f).
89.	Dhammacetiya.	213.	法莊嚴 (沃 VII. 89b f).
90.	Kaṇṇakatthala.	212.	一切智 (沃 VII. 87 f).
91.	Brahmāyu.	161.	梵壽 (沃 VII. 1 f).
92.	Sela.	?	
93.	Assalāyana.	151.	阿攝悉 (沃 VI. 84 f).
94.	Ghoṭamukha.	?	
95.	Caṅkī.	?	
96.	Esukāri.	150.	鬱瘦歌邏(沃 VI. 82 f).
97.	Dhanañjani.	27.	梵志陀然(沃 V. 32 b).
98.	Vāseṭṭha.	?	
99.	Subha.	152.	鸚鵡 (沃 VI. 87 f).
100.	Saṅgārava.	?	
101.	Devadaha.	19.	尼乾 (沃 V. 21b f).
102.	Pañcattaya.	?	
103.	Kinti.	?	
104.	Sāmagāma.	196.	周那 (沃 VII. 55b f).
105.	Sunakkhatta (善星).	?	身毛喜堅 (宮 VII. 66).
106.	Āneñjasappāya.	75.	淨不動道 (沃 V. 102b).
107.	Gaṇakamoggallāna.	144.	算數目揵連(沃 VI. 75).
108.	Gopakamoggallāna.	145.	瞿默目揵連(沃 VI. 76b).
109.	Mahā-puṇṇama.	N, 544. 雜阿, I. 10. 2-8. (=S. 22. 82) (辰 II. 12).	
110.	Cūḷa-puṇṇama.		
111.	Anupada.	?	
112.	Chavisodhana.	187.	說智 (沃 V. 39).
113.	Sappurisa.	85.	眞人 (沃 VI. 1b).

114.	Sevitabbāsevitabba.	?	
115.	Bahudhātuka.	181. 多界	(沃 VII. 31b).
116.	Isigili.	N. 543. 增阿 (38. 7.) 仙人頞	(沃 II. 56-57).
117.	Cattārīsaka.	189. 聖道	(沃 VII. 41b).
118.	Ānāpānasati.	N. 1335. 治意	(宮 VIII. 14).
119.	Kāyagatāsati.	81. 念身	(沃 V. 112b).
120.	Saṅkhāruppatti.	168. 意行	(沃 VII. 13).
121.	Cūḷa-suññata.	190. 小空	(沃 VII. 42b).
122.	Mahā-suññata.	191. 大空	(沃 VII. 43b).
123.	Acchariyabbhutadhamma.	32. 未曾有法	(沃 V. 43b).
124.	Bakkula.	34. 薄拘羅	(沃 V. 48).
125.	Dantabhūmi.	198. 調御地	(沃 VII. 58b).
126.	Bhūmija.	173. 浮彌	(沃 VII. 20b).
127.	Anuruddha.	79. 有勝天	(沃 V. 108).
128.	Upakkilesiya.	72. 長壽王本起	(沃 V. 95).
129.	Bālapaṇḍita.	199. 癡慧	(沃 VII. 60b).
130.	Devadūta.	64. 天使	(沃 V. 71).
131.	Bhaddekaratta.	?	
132.	Ānanda-bhad.	167. 阿難說	(沃 VII. 12b).
133.	Kaccāna-bhad.	165. 溫泉林天	(沃 VII. 10).
134.	Lomasakaṅgiya-bhad.	166. 釋中禪室尊	(沃 VII. 11b).
135.	Cūḷa-kammavibhaṅga.	170. 鸚鵡	(沃 VII. 16).
136.	Mahā-kammavibhaṅga.	171. 分別大業	(沃 VII. 18).
137.	Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga.	163. 分別六處	(沃 VII. 7).
138.	Uddesavibhaṅga.	164. 分別觀法	(沃 VII. 8).
139.	Araṇavibhaṅga.	169. 拘樓瘦無諍	(沃 VII. 14).
140.	Dhātuvibhaṅga.	162. 分別六界	(沃 VII. 5).
141.	Saccavibhaṅga.	31. 聖諦分別	(沃 V. 14b).
142.	Dakkhiṇāvisuddhi.	180. 瞿曇彌	(沃 VII. 30b).
143.	Anāthapiṇḍikovada.	28. 教化病	(沃 V. 34b).
144.	Channovāda (= S. 35. 87).	N. 544. 雜阿, VI. 3. sūtra 2.	(辰 IV. 77).

145.	Puṇṇovāda (= S. 35. 88).	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 1. sūtra 86 (辰 II. 72). (107) N. 656. 滿願子(辰 VI. 16).
146.	Nandakovāda.	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 3. sūtra 4 (辰 II. 60).
147.	Rāhulovāda (=S. 35. 121).	?
148.	Chachakka.	86. 說處 (戾 VI. 2).
149.	Mahā-saḷāyatana (六處)	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 4. sūtra 2. (辰 II. 70b).
150.	Nagaravindeyya (頻頭城).	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 3. sūtra 8. (辰 II. 62).
151.	Piṇḍapātaparisuddhi.	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 2. sūtra 9. 清淨乞食住 (辰 II. 47a).
152.	Indriyabhāvanā (修諸根).	N. 544. 雜阿, II. 3. sūtra 10. (辰 II. 63b).

Thus we have the Majjhima texts in Chinese in the collections or separate versions as follows:

Madhyama	98
Both in the Saṃyukta and Ekottara	7
Ekottara	6
Saṃyukta	14
Separate versions...	3
Not yet identified...	24
	152

VI.

THE CLASSIFIED COLLECTION.

As is known through the Pāli canon, the Buddhist Vinaya tells us something about the compilation of the Tripiṭaka which is said to have taken place immediately after the Master's death. There are five different versions of the Vinaya texts, each belonging to a different school, and all preserved in Chinese translations. They give us some ideas about the divisions of the Sūtra-piṭaka into five or four *āgamas* (or *nikāyas* in Pāli), though the accounts which they give deviate more or less in detail from one another. What here concerns us is the divisions of the Saṃyukta, or Classified Collection. Only one of these different traditions divides the whole collection into the Vaggas, the larger divisions, three give only some of the Saṃyuktas, the minor sections, and one tells nothing at all of these divisions.

A version of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (N. 1121.), in its 39th fasciculum (寒 II 29 a), enumerates the following seven vārgas (品):

1. Skandha (蘊品), i. e. accounts of and discourses about the five *skandhas*.
2. Āyatana and Dhātu (處界品), i. e. the six *āyatanas* and the eighteen *dhātus*.
3. Nidāna and Ārya-satya (緣起聖諦品), i. e. the twelve *nidānas* and the four *satyas*.
4. Śrāvaka (聲聞品), i. e. discourses delivered by Buddha's disciples.
5. Buddha (佛品), i. e. those delivered by Buddha.
6. Ārya-mārga (聖道品), i. e. discourses about *smṛti-prasthānas*, *pradhānas*, *ṛddhis*, *indriyas*, *balas*, *bodhyaṅgas* and *mārga*.

7. Gāthā (伽他), i. e. those sūtras which have *gāthās*.

The Mahīśāsaka (N. 1122) and the Dharmagupta (N. 1117) traditions enumerate some subdivisions, or *saṃyukta* (雜 or 相應), of the Sagāthā only. These two agree in the order of the subdivisions, the latter, however, adding three to those of the former. They are:

1. Bhikṣu (比丘).
2. Bhikṣṇī (比丘尼).
3. Upāsaka (優婆塞).
4. Upāsikā (優婆夷).
5. Deva (or Devaputra) and Devatā (諸天 or 天子天女)
6. Śakra Indra (帝釋).
7. Māra (魔).
8. Brahmā (梵王).

As different from these, the Mahāsaṅghika (列 X 34 a) version mentions only four of the subdivisions (雜) of the Mārga-vārga, i.e., *indriya* (根), *bala* (力), *bodhyaṅga* (覺), and *mārga* (道).

A similar account of the Saṃyukta divisions is found in a Mahāyānist work, the *Yogācārya-bhūmi* (N. 1170), ascribed to Asaṅga. In the 85th fasc. of this book (來 V. 18b) the Sūtra piṭaka is classified (with a certain amount of overlapping) into 24 kinds, the second of which contains the four āgamas. Here the Saṃyukta is divided into the following five Saṃyuktas (相應):

1. Discourses delivered by the Tathāgata and his disciples (如來及諸弟子所說相應).
2. Those on *skandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatanas* (蘊界處相應).
3. Those on *nidānas*, *āhāras* and *satyas* (緣起食諦相應).
4. Those on *smṛti-prasthānas*, *pradhānas*, *ṛddhis*, *indriyas*, *balas*, *bodhyaṅgas*, *mārgāṅgas*, *ānāpānas*, *śaikṣas*, *prasādas* &c. (念住正斷神足根力覺支道支入出息念學證淨等相應).
5. Discourses given to the eight *pudgalas* (八衆說衆相應).

The existence of a *Sagāthā* part is uncertain; but later on mention is made of *bhikṣus*, *devatas*, *māras* (諸苾芻天魔等), and these may mean the subdivisions of the fifth.

When we come to the two extant versions of the Saṃyukta in Chinese (N. 544 and 546) the classifications are in utter confusion. Fortunately the Chinese editions of the earlier translation (N. 546) have a better and clearer arrangement than the Korean, on which the Japanese edition of 1883-6 has been based. There the Sagātha part and another, probably the Tathāgatasaṃyukta or vārga, come clearly into view.

The texts in the fasciculi, 4, 22, 32-34, 35 (1), 36, 38-40, 41 (2), 42, 44-46, and 48-50 of the new version (N. 544) can be identified with those of the older version (N. 546). The two fasciculi 23 and 25 of the new are evidently the Aśokavadāna, and we can leave them out of account. Fortunately the new version preserves the *Uddanas* in the Khandhavagga. By the help of these we group together the following fasciculi into a Khandha-vagga: 1-3, 5, and 10. Leaving all these aside there remain the following: 6-9, 11-21, 24, 26-31, 35 (2), 37, 41 (1), 43 and 47. Again there are survivals of the titles and divisions at the beginning of several fasciculi as follows:

F. 8. 誦六入處品第二 (II. Ajjhāya, Saḷāyatana-vagga).

F. 16. 雜因誦第三品之四 (The fourth (section) of III. Ajjhāya, Saṃyutta-nidāna-vagga).

F. 17. 雜因誦第三品之五 (The fifth (section) c III. Ajjhāya, Saṃyutta-nidāna-vagga).

F. 18. 弟子所說誦第四品 (IV. Ajjhāya, Sāvaka-vagga).

F. 24. 第五誦道品第一 (The first (section) of V. Ajjhāya, Magga-vagga).

Thus we know of the existence of at least the following divisions:

II. *Saḷāyatana*, beginning with the fasciculum No. 8.

III. *Nidāna*, containing the fasciculi 16 and 17 and with three preceding sections.

IV. *Sāvaka*, beginning with fasc. 18.

V. *Magga*, beginning with fasc. 24.

By means of analogies presented in the Pāli Saṃyutta, I have been able to bring out, in addition to these materials, the divisions and sections as follows:

第一品 五蘊誦 (I. Khandha-vagga)*.

1.	五蘊部 (Khandha-saṃyutta)	II. 1—6a	F. 1.
		II. 52b, line 13—59a, l. 4	F. 10.
		II. 17b, l. 8—18b, l. 7	F. 3 (2)
		II. 6b—12b, l. 9.	F. 2.
		II. 12b, l. 10.—17b. l. 7	F. 3 (1)
		II. 24a, l. 17—30a	F. 5.
2.	羅陀部 (Rādha-s.)	II. 30b—33a.	F. 6.
3.	大師部 (Satthā-s)	II. 33b, ll. 1-7.	
4.	沙門婆羅門部 (Samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-s).	II. 33b, ll. 8-14.	
5.	所起部 (Paccāya-s.)	II. 33b, l. 15—34b. l. 7	
		II. 34b, l. 8—37b. l. 2.	F. 7.
6.	燃頭部 (Ādittasīsa-s.)	II. 37b, l. 3—39b., l. 3.	
7.	無常部 (Anicca-s.)	II. 39b, ll. 4-19.	
8.	成就部 (Sampanna-s)	II. 39b, l. 20—40a, l. 11	

第二品 六入處誦 (II. Saḷāyatana-vagga).

1.	六入處部 (Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta)	II. 40a, l. 12—46a, l. 4.	F. 8.
		II. 46a, l. 5—52b, l. 12.	F. 9.
		II. 59a, l. 5—64a, l. 14.	F. 11.
		II. 70b—75b.	F. 13.
		IV. 46b—52a, l. 4.	F. 43.

第三品 雜因誦 (III. Nidāna-vagga.)

1.	雜因部 (Nidāna-s.)	II. 64a, l. 15—70 a.	F. 12.
		II. 76a—81b	F. 14.

* The titles are given in Pāli forms. II. III. to the volumes in the case 辰, and F. means the division in fasciculi.

2.	四諦部 (Sacca-s.)	II. 82a—84a, l. 11	F. 15.
		II. 84a, l. 12—88a	
		II. 88b—93a.	F. 16.
3.	界 部 (Dhātu-s.)	II. 93b—94b.	
		II. 94b,—96b, l. 15.	F. 17.
4.	受 部 (Vedanā-s.)	II. 96b, l. 16—101b.	

第四品 弟子所說誦 (IV. Sāvaka-vagga).

1.	舍利弗部 (Sāriputta-saṃyuttà).	III. 1a—2b, l. 11. (Jambukhādaka-s).	F. 18.
		III. 2b, l. 12—5b, l. 12	
2.	大目犍連部 (Mahāmoggallāna-s.)	III. 5b, l. 13—6b, l. 7.	
		III. 6b, l. 8—8a, l. 8.	
		III. 8a, l. 9—11a, l. 1. (Lakkhaṇa-s.)	F. 19.
3.	阿那律部 (Anuruddha-s.)	III. 11b, ll. 2-20.	
		III. 12a—13a, l. 18.	
4.	大迦旃延部 (Mahākaccāna-s.)	III. 13a, l. 19—16b, l. 12.	F. 20.
5.	阿難部 (Ānanda-s.)	III. 16b, l. 13—17a, l. 16.	
		III. 17a, l. 17—19. b. l. 2.	F. 21.
6.	質多羅部 (Citra-s.)	III. 19b, l. 3—22b.	

第五品 道誦 (V. Magga-vagga.)

1.	念處部 (Satipaṭṭhāna-s.)	III. 39b—44b, l. 14.	F. 24.
2.	根部 (Indriya-s.)	III. 48b—50a, l. 13.	
3.	力部 (Bala-s.)	III. 50a, l. 14—54b, l. 8.	F. 26.
4.	覺支部 (Bojjhaṅga-s.)	III. 54b, l. 9—55b.	
		III. 56a—61b	F. 27.
5.	道部 (Magga-s.)	III. 62a—68a, l. 10.....	F. 28.
		III. 68a, l. 11—68b, l. 2.	
6.	安那般那部 (Ānāpāna-s.)	III. 68b, l. 3—71b, l. 15.	F. 29.
7.	三學部	III. 71b, l. 16—74a, l. 13.	

	(Sekkha-s.)	III. 74a, l. 14—75a, l. 4.	F. 30.
8.	不壞淨部 (Aveccapasāda-s. or Sotāpatta-s).	III. 75a, l. 5—79a.	
		IV. 35b, l. 5—37b, l. 1.....	F. 41.
9.	天部 (Deva-s.)	III. 79b, ll. 1-12.	F. 31.
10.	是形部 (Tadrūpa-s.)	III. 79b, l. 13—81a, l. 4.	
11.	正斷部 (Sammāp-padhāna-s.)	III. 81a, l. 5—82b, l. 3.	
12.	四禪部 (Jhāna-s.)...	III. 82b, l. 4—83a, l. 1.	
13.	三明部 (Tevijjā-s.)..	III. 83a, l. 2—83b, l. 16.	
14.	無爲部 (Asaṅkata-s.)	III. 83b, l. 17—84a, l. 1.	
15.	湖水部 (Samudda-s.)	III. 84a, ll. 2-7.	
16.	六入部 (Saḷāyatana-s.)	III. 84a, ll. 8-14.	
17.	種子部 (Bīja-s).....	III. 84a, ll. 15-19.	
18.	世間部 (Loka-s.)...	III. 84a, l. 20—84b, l. 6.	
19.	大師部 (Satthā-s.)...	III. 84b, ll. 7-14.	
20.	羅睺羅部 (Rāhula-s.)	III. 84b, ll. 15-19.	
21.	比丘部 (Bhikkhu-s.)	III. 84b, l. 20—85a.	

第六品 八衆誦 (VI. Puggala-vagga).

1.	八衆部 (Puggala-s.)	III. 108b, l. 11—112a.....	F. 35.
		IV. 71b—72b, l. 7.	
2.	譬喻部 (Opamma-s.)	IV. 72b, l. 8—76b, l. 1.	F. 47.
3.	病部 (Ābādhika-s.)	IV. 76b, l. 2—78a, l. 5.	
		IV. 9a, l. 4—12b, l. 14.	F. 37.
4.	應報部 (Vipāka.)	IV. 12b, l. 15—16 b, l. 8.	

第七品 頌偈誦 (VII. Sagātha-vagga.)

1.	比丘部 (Bhikkhu-s.)	IV. 16b, l. 9—22b, l. 11....	F. 38.
		IV. 22b, l. 12—23b, l. 15.	F. 39.
2.	魔部 (Māra-s.)...	IV. 23b, l. 16—29a, l. 15.	
3.	帝釋部 (Sakka-s.)	IV. 29a, l. 16—35b, l. 3....	F. 40.
		IV. 66a—67a, l. 2.	F. 46.
4.	拘薩羅部	IV. 67a, l. 3—71a.	

	(Kosala-s.)	IV. 41a—43a, l. 16.	F. 42.
5.	婆羅門部 (Brāhmaṇa-s.)	IV. 43a, l. 17—46a.	
		II. 18b, l. 9—24a, l. 16....	F. 4.
		IV. 52a, l. 5—55b, l. 15.	F. 44.
6.	梵天部(Brahma-s.)	IV. 55b, l. 16—59a.	
7.	比丘尼部 (Bhikkhunī-s.)	IV. 59b—62b, l. 1.	F. 45.
8.	婆耆娑部 (Vaṅgīsa-s.)	IV. 62b, l. 2—65b.	
		IV. 1a—2a, l. 14.	F. 36.
9.	天部 (Devatā-s.)	IV. 2a, l. 15—9a, l. 2.	
		III. 23a—31a, l. 7.	F. 22.
		IV. 78a, l. 6—86a, l. 12. ...	F. 48.
		IV. 86a, l. 13—87b, l. 11.	
10.	天子部 (Devaputta-s.)	IV. 87b, l. 12—91b.	F. 49.
11.	夜叉部 (Yakkha-s.)	IV. 92a—93b, l. 11.	
		IV. 93b, l. 12—97b, l. 11.	F. 50.
12.	林部 (Vana-s.)	IV. 97b, l. 12—103b.	

第八品 如來誦 (?) (VIII. Tathāgata-vagga.)

1.	大迦葉部 (Mahākassappa-s.)	IV. 37b, l. 2—40b.	F. 41.
		III. 85b—86a, l. 10.	
2.	聚落主部 (Gāmaṇi-s.)	III. 86a, l. 11—90b, l. 9.	F. 32
3.	馬部 (Assa-s.)	III. 90b, l. 10—91a.	
		III. 91b—93b.	
4.	摩訶南部 (Mahānāma-s.)	III. 94a—97a, l. 6.	F. 33.
5.	生死部 (Anamata-s)	III. 97a, l. 7—97b.	
		III. 98a—100a, l. 11.	
6.	婆蹉種部 (Vacchagotta-s)	III. 100a, l. 12—103a, l. 8.	F. 34.
7.	外道部 (Paribbājaka-, or Titthiya-s.)	III. 103a, l. 9—105a, l. 3.	
		III. 105a, l. 4—108b, l. 10..	F. 35.

Here we see results which do not exactly agree with either the Sarvāstivada tradition or that which Asaṅga mentions. Still the similarities show that there were various versions which were derived from one and the same source and which differed one from another in this or that particular.

The first point in which our results differ from both of the old traditions is that the Dhātu (界) section is incorporated in the Nidāna (因) division, instead of the Āyatana (六入). I can not arrange it otherwise, however, because the fragmentary survival of the titles, as given above, shows that the section existed in the Nidāna division of this version.

The second point I would note is that our version has not the Iddhipāda (神足) section, as the two above mentioned and the Pāli version also have it. Has it been lost, or did it not exist originally?

Another point which calls our attention is whether or not the two divisions, the Puggala (八衆) and the Tathāgata (如來), are to be incorporated into some of the other divisions. The first of these two is quite doubtful, both as to its separate existence and also its title. But it seems to me that the sections contained in it do not find suitable places in other divisions, and I have identified the division provisionally with the fifth of Asaṅga's group. The latter division, the title of which is not well suited to it, evidently makes one division, after the fashion of the Sagātha in the old version (N. 546), and I think I have reason to count it as the eighth and identify it with the fifth in the Sarvāstivāda tradition, and with part of the first of Asaṅga's divisions.

Finally as to the old version (N. 546), we cannot know whether it is a fragment of the collection or a species of extracts taken from it. I am inclined to regard it as a fragment, though with perhaps no definite reason for doing so. Most of the parts of this version have the Uddānas, and in the following table the titles of the suttas in the last two divisions are given in accordance with them.

All these divisions, and the texts contained in them, deviate more or less from the Pāli, and none of the divisions and sūtras can be said to be identical with the Pāli. Nevertheless similarity and affinity are undeniable. Although I must postpone entrance upon details until the whole research is concluded, I can say definitely that the two versions, the Pāli and the Chinese, are descended from one and the same source. To illustrate this conclusion I might point out the Saṃyuttas which contain exactly the same texts in both versions. They are:

VII.	2.	Māra	——	Pāli 4. (except one sutta)
VII.	7.	Bhikkhunī	——	„ 7.
VIII.	1.	Kassappa	——	„ 16. (except two suttas)
IV.	6.	Citra	——	„ 41.

Beside these, most of the divisions existing in both agree with one another more than by mere accidence, and the number of the texts that are contained in both fluctuate between 50 and 90 per cent. There are some saṃyuttas in Pāli that are wholly wanting in Chinese; just as there are some Chinese divisions not to be found in Pāli. But I hope to be able to find some of the texts contained therein in other sections, as there are already many cases showing clearly the possibility of such a discovery being made.

(TABLE IX.) THE CHINESE SAṂYUKTA TEXTS AND THEIR PĀLI COUNTERPARTS.

第一誦蘊品 (I Ajjhāya, Khandha-vagga),

[第一蘊品] (1. Khandha-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga)

1-3.	無常, 苦, 空, 非我	(*A* I. 1-3, 辰 II. 1a).*	S. 22. 12-14. Aniccam &c.
4-6.	正觀察 (Sammapaññā)	(„ 4-6, 辰 II. 1b).	S. 22. 15-17. Yad aniccam &c.
7-10.	無知 (Apaññā?)	(„ 7-10 辰 II. 1b).	?
11.	於色喜樂	(„ 11, 辰 II. 1b).	S. 22. 29. Abhinanda.

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

1-4.	過去 (Atīta)	(*A* I. 12-15, 辰 II. 2a).	S. 22. 9-11. Atītānāgata-paccupanna.
5.	厭離 (Nibbinda)	(*A* I. 16, 辰 II. 2a).	S. 22. 15-17. Yad aniccam. (無常)
6.	解脫 (Vimutta)	(„ 17, „ 2a).	
7-8.	因緣	(„ 18-19 „ 2a).	S. 22. 18-19. Hetu.
9-10.	味	(*A* I. 20-21, 辰 II. 2b).	S. 22. 26-28. Assāda.

[第三部] (3. Tatiya-vagga).

1.	使	(*A* I. 22, 辰 II. 2-3).	S. 22. 64. Maññamāna.
2.	增諸數 (Saṅkha)	(„ 23, „ 3a.)	S. 22. 36. Bhikkhu.

* *A* I. means fasciculus I of the later version (N. 544) and 辰 II. 1a means *a* (i. e. first) side of the first sheet in Vol. II. of the case 辰 &c. *B* I &c mean the fasciculi of the older version (N. 546). In the table, the Chinese titles of respective sūtras are given according to the Uddānas, where they are found; and supplied according to the Pāli uddānas, where they are not found in the Chinese versions. Those titles which agree with the Pāli titles are left without translations; others which do not agree are translated into Pāli in and put in brackets.

3. 非我 (*A* I. 24, 辰 II. 3a). S. 22. 35. Anattā.
4. 非我 (*A* I. 25, 辰 II. 3b).
S. 22. 68-69. Anattā.
5. 結繫 („ 26, „ 3b). ?
S. 22. 70. Rajanīyasaṇthita.
6. 深 (Gambhīra ?) („ 27, „ 4a). ?
7. 動搖 („ 28, „ 4a).
S. 22. 63. Upādiyamāna.
8. 刼波所問 (Kappa-pucchā) (*A* I. 29, 辰 II. 4a).
S. 22. 124-125. Kappa.
9-10. 羅睺羅 (*A* I. 30-31, 辰 II. 4b).
S. 22. 91-92. Rāhula.

[第四部] (4. Catuttha-vagga).

1. 多聞 (Bahussuta) (*A* I. 32, 辰 II. 4-5). ?
2. 善說法 („ 33, „ 5a).
S. 22. 115-116. Kathika.
3. 向法 (*A* I. 34, 辰 II. 5a).
S. 22. 40-42. Anudhamma.
4. 涅槃 (Nibbāna) (*A* I. 35, 辰 II. 5a).
S. 22. 39. Anudhamma.
5. 三密離提問云何說法師* (*A* I. 36, 辰 II. 5a). ?

[第五部] (5. Pañcama-vagga).

1-2. 輸屢那 (Sroṇa) (*A* I. 37-38, 辰 II. 5a-b).
S. 22. 49-50. Soṇa.
3. „ (*A* I. 39, 辰 II. 6a). ?
4-6. 無明 (Avijjā) (*A* X. 1-3, 辰 II. 52-53).
S. 22. 133-135. Koṭṭhita (拘絺羅).
7. 無間苦 (?) (*A* X. 4, 辰 II. 53b). S. 22. 122. Sīla.
8. 滅 (Nirodha ?) *A* X. 5, 辰 II. 53b).
S. 22. 62. Niruppatti (?)

* Samṛddhi's question as to who is to be called a teacher in the dhamma.

9. 富留那 (Pūrṇa) (*A* X. 6, 辰 II. 54a).
S. 22. 83. Ānanda (阿難).

10. 闡陀 (Chanda ?) (*A* X. 7, 辰 II. 54).
S. 22. 90. Channa.

[第六部] (6. Chaṭṭha-vagga).

1. 應說 (Bhāsita ?) (*A* X. 8, 辰 II. 55a).
S. 22. 101. Nāva (船).

2. 小土樽* (*A* X. 9, 辰 II. 55).
S. 22. 96. Gomaya.

3. 泡沫† (*A* X. 10, 辰 II. 56). S. 22. 95. Pheṇa.

4-5. 無知 (Apaññā ?) (*A* X. 11-12, 辰 II. 56b).
S. 22. 99-100. Gaddula (狗).

6. 河流 (*A* X. 13, 辰 II. 57a).
S. 22. 93. Nadī.

7. 祇林 (Jetavana) (*A* X. 14, 辰 II. 57).
S. 22. 33-34. Natuṃhāka (非汝所應).

8. 樹 (Vaṇṭa) (*A* X. 15, 辰 II. 57b).
S. 22. 102 Aniccatā (無常).

9. 低舍 (Tiśya ?) (*A* X. 16, 辰 II. 58a).
S. 22. 84. Tissa.

10. 諸想 (Vitakkā) (*A* X. 17, 辰 II. 58b).
S. 22. 80. Piṇḍolya (乞食).

[第七部] (7. Sattama-vagga).

1. 竹園 (Veḷuvana) (*A* III. 84., 辰 II. 17b). ?

2. 毘舍利 (Vesālī) („ 85., „ 17b). ?

3. 清淨 (?) („ 86., „ 18a).
S. 22. 45. Aniccatā.

4. 正觀察 (Sammappaññā) („ 87., „ 18a).
S. 22. 46. Aniccatā (無常).

5. 無常 (Aniccatā) („ 88., .. 18a). ?

6. 苦 (Dukkha) („ 89., .. 18b). ?

* Cf. N. 542. 中阿, No. 61. † Cf. Table II. Nos. 14. & 92.

7. 非我 (Anattā) (*A* II. 1., 辰 II. 6b). ?
8. 五比丘 („ 2., „ 6b).
S. 22. 59. Pañca.
9. 三正士 (Sappurisā) (*A* II. 3., 辰 II. 6-7). ?
10. 十六 (Soḷasa) („ 4., „ 7a).
S. 22. 43. Attadīpa (自洲).

[第八部] (8. Aṭṭhama-vagga).

1. 我 (Aham) (*A* II. 5, 辰 II. 7a),
S. 22. 94. Vaddha (?).
2. 卑下 (Nīca ?) (*A* II. 6, 辰 II. 7b). ?
3. 種子 („ 7, „ 7b). S. 22. 54. Bīja.
4. 封滯 (Vocchijja-āra mmana.) („ 8, „ 7b). S. 22. 53. Upāya.
5. 五轉 (Pañca-parivattaṃ) (*A* II. 9, 辰 II. 8a).
S. 22. 56. Upādānaṃ parivattaṃ.
6. 七處 (*A* II. 10, 辰 II. 8b).
S. 22. 57. Sattaṭṭhāna.
7. 取着 (*A* II. 11, 辰 II. 9a).
S. 22. 7. Upādāparitassanā.
8. 繫着 (Bandhana ?) (*A* II. 12, 辰 II. 9a).
S. 22. 117. Bandhana.
9. 覺 (Vedanā) (*A* II. 13, 辰 II. 9b). ?
10. 陰世食 („ 14, „ 9b). ?
S. 22. 79. Khajjani (所食).

[第九部] (9. Navama-vagga).

1-2. 信 (Saddhā) (*A* II. 15-16, 辰 II. 10a).
S. 22. 146-147. Kulaputta (善男子).
3-4. 阿難 (*A* II. 17-18, 辰 II. 10a).
S. 22. 37-38. Ānanda.
5. 壞法 (*A* II. 19, 辰 II. 10b).
S. 22. 32. Pabhaṅga.
6. 鬱低迦 (Uttika)* (*A* II. 20, 辰 II. 10b). ?

* The text is not given, on the ground that it is the same as the *Uttika* in the Fourth Nipāta of the Ekottara. It is found in neither Pāli Aṅguttara nor Chinese Ekottara.

7. 婆羅門 (Brāhmaṇa)* (*A* II. 21, 辰 II. 10b). ?
8. 世間 (Loka) † („ 22, „ 11a). ?
9. 陰 (Khandha) („ 23. „ 11a),
S. 22. 48. Khandhā.
9. 漏無漏法 (Āsava-anāsava-dhammā) („ 24, „ 11a). ?

[第十部] (10. Dasama-vagga).

1. 陰根 (Khandhamūla) (*A* II. 25, 辰 II. 11a-b).
S. 22. 81. Pārileyya (?)
2. 陰即受‡ (Khandha-vedanā) (*A* II. 26, 辰 II. 12a).
S. 22. 82. Puṇṇamā (滿月) 1–5.
3. 二陰相關 (Khandha-vemattatā) (*A* II. 27, 辰 II. 12a). „ 6–7.
4. 名字 (Nāma) (*A* II. 28, „ 12a). „ 8.
5. 因 (Hetu) („ 29, „ 12a). „ 9.
6. 味 (Assāda) („ 30, „ 12a). „ 12.
7. 我慢疾 (Sakkāya-diṭṭhi) („ 31, „ 12a). „ 10–11.
8. 漏盡 (Āsavakkhaya) („ 32, „ 12a-b). „ 13–21.

[第十一部] (11. Ekādasama-vagga).

1. 生滅 (Samudaya-atthangama) (*A* III. 1, 辰 II. 12b).
S. 22. 5. Samādhi.
2. 不樂 (Na abhinandati) (*A* III. 2, 辰 II. 12b)
S. 22. 5. Samādhi.
3. 分別 (Viveka?) (*A* III. 3, 辰 II. 13a). ?
4. 貪着 (Lobha?) („ 4, „ 13). ?
5. 等觀察 („ 5, „ 13b).
S. 22. 47. Samanupassanā.
6. 優陀那 (*A* III. 6, 辰 II. 13b).
S. 22. 55. Udāna.

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* Mahāsāla (大性). Another version of M. 41. Sāleyyaka?

† Discourse to a Brāhmaṇa Vigata-loka (毘迦多婆迦), who is versed in astrology.

‡ Suttas 2-8 make one series of dialogues as in the Pāli version, though titles are given separately. See above p. 65, M. 109-110.

[第十二部] (12. Dvādasama-vagga).

1-12. 受 (Vedanā) (*A* III. 7-18, 辰 II. 14a).
S. 22. 5-6. Samādhi, (禪思).
13-24. 生 (Upādā ?), (*A* III. 19-30, 辰 II. 14ab).
25-36. 樂 (Apekhavā ?), (*A* III. 31-42, 辰 II. 14b). } S. 22. 7. Upādā-paritassanā (?).
37-41. 六入處 (Saḷāyatana)* (*A* III. 43-54, 辰 II 14-15). ?

[第十三部] (13. Terasama-vagga).

1-3. 其道 (*A* III. 55-47, 辰 II. 15a). S. 22. 44. Paṭipadā.
4-6. 實覺 (?) („ 58-60, „ 15a). S. 22. 103. Anta (邊).
7-10. 有身 („ 61-64, „ 15b). S. 22. 105. Sakkāya.
11-16. 羅漢 (Arahanta), (*A* III. 65-70, 辰 II. 15b). ?

[第十四部] (14. Catuddasama-vagga).

1. 知法 (*A* III. 71, 辰 II. 15b), S. 22. 23-24. Pariññā.
2. 重擔 (*A* III. 72, 辰 II. 15b), S. 22. 22. Bhāra.
3. 往詣 (?) („ 73, „ 16a).
S. 22. 65. Abhinandamāna (所樂).
4. 觀 (?) („ 74, 辰 II. 16a).
S. 22. 58. Sambuddha, (正覺).
5. 欲 (Chanda ?) (*A* III. 75, 辰 II. 16a.). ?
6. 貪 („ 76, „ 16b). S. 22. 25. Chandarāga.
7. 生 („ 77, „ 16b). S. 22. 30. Uppāda.
8-11. 畧說 (Saṅkhittena) (*A* III. 78-81, 辰 II. 16b). S. 22. 9-10 (?).
12. 法印 (Dhamma-lakkhaṇa)† („ 82, „ 17a). ?
13. 富蘭那 (Purāṇa) („ 83, „ 17).
S. 22. 60. Mahāli (摩訶南?)

* These four groups of suttas are named *Samādhi* or Paṭisallāṇā (禪定三昧經) altogether and they are all very similar in contents.

† See Table II. No. 52 and Nanjio, No. 932.

[第十五部] (15. Pañcadasama-vagga).

1. 彼(波)多羅十間* (*A* 5. 1, 辰 II 24a). S. 42. 13. Pātali.
2. 差摩 (*A* 5. 2, 辰 II 24). S. 22. 89. Khema.
3. 焰 („ 3, „ 25). S. 22. 85. Yamaka.
4. 仙尼 (Seniya ?) („ 4, „ 26). ?
5. 阿兜羅 („ 5, „ 26b). S. 22. 86. Anurādha. †
6. 長者 (Gahapati). (*A* 5. 6, 辰 II 27a). S. 22. 1. Nakulapitā (那拘羅).
7. 西 (Pacchābhūma) (*A* 5. 7, 辰 II 27b). S. 22. 2. Devadaha (天現).
8. 毛端 (Kesagga) ‡ (*A* 5. 8, 辰 II 28). S. 13. 2. Pokkharaṇī (池水).
9. 薩遮 (*A* 5. 9, 辰 II 29-30). M. 35. Saccaka.

[第二 羅陀品] (2, Rādha-Saṃyutta).
=*A* 6. suttas 1-48.

1. [有流] (辰 II 30b). S. 23. 3. Bhavanetti.
2. [斷知] („ 30b). S. 23. 4. Pariññeyyā.
3-9. [外道] (Paribbājaka) („ 31). ?
10. [魔] („ 32a). S. 23. 1. Māra.
11. [死法] (Maraṇa-dhamma) („ 32a). ?
12. [衆生] („ 32a). S. 23. 2. Satta.
13. [愛喜貪] („ 32b). S. 23. 9-10. Chandarāga.
14-48. [魔等] („ 32b-33a). S. 23. 11-46. Māra &c.

The rest of the 6th fascic. and the whole of the 7th seem to make a group of several minor saṃyuttas, but the number of texts are indeterminable owing to the repetitions with

* Here given only in the *uddāna*; for the text, see Madhyama No. 20. (p. 42.)

† =S. 44. 2.

‡ The title reads "the point of hair" i. e. *kesagga* instead of the word *kusagga* in Pāli. With an explanation of the simile by Sāriputta.

minor differences. They seem to be divided into the following six groups :—

1.	(3) 大師	Satthā-saṃyutta. consisting of about 60 suttas.	the rest of the 6th fasc.	
2.	(4) 沙門婆羅門	Samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-s., consisting of about 11 suttas.		
3.	(5) 所起	Paccāya-s., consisting of about 6 suttas.		
4.	(6) 燃頭	Āditta-sīsa-s., consisting of about 104 suttas.	7th fasc.	
5.	(7) 無常	Anicca-s., consisting of about 672 suttas.		
6.	(8) 成就	Sampanna-s., consisting of about 135 suttas.		
		Sampanna-s., consisting of about 148 suttas.		

This enormous number of the texts is due to the multiplications of the same statements with different vices, points of view &c. For example, in the fourth group we have in three lines the following multiplication :—

無常 anicca { 1. 未來 2. 過去 3. 現在 4. 過去未來 5. 過去現在 6. 未來現在 7. 過去未來現在 8 without time ;

these 8×3 (i.e. 內身觀, 外身觀, 內外身觀);
these 24×4 (i.e. 身會處, 受會處, 心會處, 法會處);
these 96×7 (i.e. 當知, 當吐, 當盡, 當止, 當捨 當滅, 當沒)=672.

第二誦 六入處品 (II. Ajjhāya, Salāyatana-vagga).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga)=*A* 8.

1-4. [離喜貪] (辰 II. 40a). S. 35. 155-158. Nandikkhaya.

5.	?	(辰 II. 40b).	?
6.	?	(„ 40b).	?
7-8.	[不離欲] (?)	(„ 40b).	S. 35. 21-22. Uppāda
9.	[生喜]	(辰 II. 40b).	S. 35. 19-20. Abhinandena.
0-12.	[無常, 苦, 無我],	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 1-12. Anicca, Dukkha, Anattā.
13.	[無常]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 43. Anicca.
14-15.	[苦, 空]	(„ 41a).	S. 35. 44. Dukkha.
16.	[非我]	(„ 41a).	S. 35. 45. Anattā.
17.	[虛業法]	(„ 41a).	„ 39. Khaya.
18.	[破壞法]	(„ 41a).	„ 40. Vaya.
19-24.	[生法, 老法, 病法, 死法, 愁憂法, 煩惱法]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 33-38. Jāti, Jarā, Vyādhi, Maraṇa, Soka, Saṃkilesa.
25-26.	[集法, 滅法]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 41-42. Samudaya, Nirodha.
27-29.	[知法, 識法, 斷法]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 46-48. Abhiññeyaṃ, Pariññeyyaṃ, Pahātabbaṃ.
30.	[覺法]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 50. Abhiññā-pariññeyyaṃ.
31.	[作証]	(辰 II. 41a).	S. 35. 49. Sacchikātabbaṃ.
32-34.	[魔] (Māra &c.)	(辰 II. 41a).	?
35-37.	[燃, 燘, 燒]	(„ 41a).	?
38.	[燒燃]	(„ 41a).	S. 35. 28. Ādittaṃ.
39-42.	[羅睺羅] (Rāhula)	(„ 41a).	?
43.	„	(„ 41b).	S. 35. 121. Rāhula
44.	„	(„ 42a).	?
45-60.	[比丘] (Bhikkhu)	(„ 42a).	?
61.	„	(„ 42a).	?
62.	„	(„ 42b).	?
63.	[阿難陀] (Ānanda)	(„ 42b).	?

64.	[耆婆菴羅園]	(辰 II. 42b).	S. 35. 160. Jīvakambavane.
65.	,,	(辰 II. 42b).	S. 35. 159. Jīvakambavane.
66-69.	,,	(,, 43a).	?
80.	[六觸入處]	(,, 43a).	? S. 35. 71-73. Chaphassayātanikā.
81.	?	(辰 II. 43).	?
82.	[世間五欲]	(,, 43b).	S. 35. 117. Lokakāmaguṇa.
83.	(Place, Sāvatthi)	(,, 43b).	S. 35. 134. Devadahakana.
84.	[二法]	(,, 44a).	S. 35. 93. Dvayaṃ.
85.	,,	(,, 44a).	,, 92. ,,
86.	[富留那]*	(,, 44).	S. 35. 88. (2-5). Puṇṇa.
87.	[大海]	(,, 44b).	S. 35. 188. Samudda.
88-92.	,,	(,, 44b).	?
93.	,,	(,, 44b).	S. 35. 187. Samudda.
94.	[道跡](Paṭipadā)	(,, 44b).	?
95-96.	[趣]	(,, 45a).	S. 35. 146-149. Sappāya.
97.	[取] (Upādāna)	(,, 45a).	?
98-99.	[知識]	(,, 45a).	S. 35. 26-27. Parijānāna.
100-101.	[斷]	(,, 45a).	,, 24-25. Pahāna.
102-3.	[計] (Diṭṭhi)	(,, 45b).	?
104-105.	,,	(,, 45b).	?
106.	[增] ?	(,, 45b).	?
107-110.	[起](Upanna &c.	(辰 II. 45b).	?
111.	[有漏]	(,, 45b).	S. 35. 56-57. Āsavā.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga)=*A* 9.

1.	[三彌離提]†	(辰 II. 46a).	S. 35. 68. Ṣamiddhi.
2-3.	,,	(,, 46a).	S. 35. 65-66. Samiddhi.
4-5.	,,	(,, 46a).	?

* The name reads Pūrṇa instead of Puṇṇa.

† The title reads Samṛddhi instead of Samiddhi.

6.	[世間]	(辰 II. 46b).	S. 35. 107 Loka.
7.	[世界邊]*	(„ 46b).	S. 35. 116. Lokassanta.
8.	[近住]	(辰 II. 46b).	S. 35. 150. Antevasi.
9.	[清淨乞食住]	(. „ 47a).	M. 151. Piṇḍapātaparisuddhi.
10.	[毘舍離]†	(辰 II. 47a).	S. 35. 124. Vesali.
11-12.	„ ‡	(„ 47a).	?
13.	[因]	(„ 47a).	S. 35. 141-144. Hetu.
14.	[結法]	(„ 47b).	S. 35. 109. Saṃyojana.
15.	[取法]	(„ 47b).	S. 35. 110. Upādāna.
16.	[燒熱]	(„ 47b).	S. 35. 194. Ādittena.
17-40.	[知]	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 111-112. Parijānaṃ.
41-54.	[味等]	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 15-19. Assāda &c.
55-56.	[魔鉤] (Mārabalisa)	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 114-115. Mārapāsa.
57.	[四品法]§	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 189. Bālisika (鉤) 4-15.
58.	[七年]	(„ 48a-b).	S. 4. 3. 4. Saṭṭavassāni.
59-65.	[魔] (Māra &c.)	(„ 48b).	?
66.	[純陀]¶	(„ 48b).	S. 35. 193. Udāyi.
67.	[拘絺羅]	(„ 49a).	A. IV. 174 Koṭṭhika.
68.	„	(„ 49a-b).	S. 35. 191. Koṭṭhita.
69.	„ ‖	(„ 49b).	A. IV. 175 (?)
70.	[優波先那]	(„ 50a).	S. 35. 69. Upasena and Vinaya, Cullavgga, V. 6.
71.	[毘紐迦旃延]°	(辰 II. 50b).	S. 35. 133. Verahaccāni.
72.	[耳]	(„ 51).	A. VI. 55. Soṇa.
73.	[魯醯遮]	(„ 52).	S. 35. 132. Lohicca.

* With the verse *Na gamanena* (A. IV. 45.).

† The name of the gahapati is Ugru or Ugro (鄔羅婁) instead of Ugga.

‡ The same discourse as above, spoken to Ānanda and to many disciples.

§ I. e. Cattuvaggiyadhammā.

¶ The title means Mahācunda, because the discourse is spoken by Ānand to Mahācunda instead of to Udāyi.

‖ Another conversation between Sāriputta and Koṭṭhita almost perfectly agreeing with A. IV. 175, a conversation between Sāriputta and Upavāṇa.

° The transliteration seems to be intended to read *Veṇukaccāyana.*

[第三部] (Tatiya-vagga) = *A* 11.

1.	[手聲喻]*	(長 II. 59a).	?
2.	[棄捨] (Pahātabba)	(„ 59b).	?
3.	[難陀]	(„ 59b).	A. IX. 4. Nandaka.
4.	[難陀說法]	(„ 60b).	M. 146. Nandakovāda.
5.	?	(„ 61b).	? (See Table II. no. 39).
6.	?	(„ 61b).	?
7.	?	(„ 62a).	S. 35. 94. Saṃgayha.
8.	[頻頭城]	(„ 62b).	M. 150. Nagaravindeyya.
9.	[紫髮目揵連]	(長 II. 62b.)	? (Sikhamoggallāna?)
10.	[諸根修]	(„ 63b).	M. 152, Indriyabhāvanā.

[第四部] (Catuttha-vagga) = *A* 13.

1.	[六六]†	(長 II. 70b).	M. 148. Chachakka.
2.	[六入處]	(„ 70b).	M. 149. Saḷāyatana.
3-4.	[人] (Puggala?).	(„ 71b).	?
5.	[不染着]	(„ 71b).	S. 35. 136. Agayha.
6-7.	[鹿紐]	(„ 72a).	S. 35. 63-64. Migajāla.
8.	[富樓那] (Pūrṇa).	(„ 72ab.)	S. 35. 88. Puṇṇa (= M. 141).
9.	?	(長 II. 72b).	S. 35. 95. Saṃgayha.
10.	[經法]	(„ 73a).	S. 35. 154. Kathika.
11-18.	?	(„ 73b).	?
19-21.	[生聞] (Jānussoṇi)	(„ 74a).	?
22-30.	?	(„ 74a).	?
31.	?	(„ 74b).	?
32-41.	?	(„ 74b).	?
42-53.	[過去等]	(„ 75a).	S. 35. 173-186 Atita &c.

* "Hatthasaddūpama"? Sound is caused by conjoint action of two hands by clapping them; similarly sensation is produced by conjunction of objects and sense-organs.

† Abridged.

54.	[有 縛 法]?	(辰 II. 75a).	?
55.	[第 一 義 空]?	(„ 75a).	?
56-62.	?	(„ 75a).	?

[第 五 部] (Pañcama-vagga) = *A* 43.

1.	[波 羅 延]	(辰 IV. 46b).	A. VI. 61. Pārāyaṇa.
2.	[賓 頭 盧]	(„ 46b-47a).	S. 35. 127. Piṇḍola.
3.	[手 足 喻]	(„ 74ab).	S. 35. 195-6. Hatthapādupama.
4.	[龜]	(辰 IV. 47b).	S. 35. 199. Kumma.
5.	[麩 麥]	(„ 47b).	S. 35. 207. Yavakalāpi.
6.	[琴]	(„ 48a).	S. 35. 205. Vīṇā.
7.	[癩 瘡] (Arugatta).	(„ 48ab).	S. 35. 206. (3-4).
8.	[六 種 衆 生]	(„ 48b).	S. 35. 206. Chapāṇā (5-8).
9.	[毒 蛇]	(辰 IV. 48b).	S. 35. 197. Āsīvisa.
10.	[苦 法]	(„ 49a).	S. 35. 203. Dukkhadhammā.
11.	[樹] (枝)	(辰 IV. 49b-50).	S. 35. 200. Dārukkhandha.
12.	[緊 獸]	(辰 IV. 50a).	S. 35. 204. Kiṃsukā.
13.	[漏 法]?	(„ 506-51).	S. 35. 202. Avassuta.
14.	[灰 河 南]*	(„ 51b).	?

第三誦 因品 (III. Ajjhāya, Nidāna-vagga).

[第一因品] (1. Nidāna-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga) = *A* 12.

1.	[種 樹]	(辰 II. 64a).	S. 12. 57. Taruṇa.

* The contrast between Buddha's teachings and those of the six heretics is compared with the contrast between a damp and hot forest on the southern bank of the Ash River (灰河) and a cool and airy hill on the other side of the same river.

2. [大樹] (辰 II 64b).
S. 12. 55-56. Mahārukkha.

3. [佛 and 縛] (辰 II. 64b-65).
S. 12. 10. Gotama and
S. 12. 53-54. Saññojana.

4. [取] (辰 II. 65ab).
S. 12. 52. Upādāna (3-4).

5. [城邑] (辰 II. 65b). S. 12. 65. Nagara.

6. [蘆] („ 65b-66).
S. 12. 67. Naḷakalāpiya.

7-8. [無聞] (辰 II. 66ab). S. 12. 61-62. Assutavā.

9. [觸法] („ 66b). S. 12. 66. Saṃmasa.

10. [思量觀察] („ 67).
S. 12. 51. Parivimaṃsana.

11. [甚深] (Gambhīra) (辰 II. 67b). ?

12. [愚痴黠慧] („ 68a). S. 12. 19. Bālena paṇḍito.

13. [非汝所有] („ 68). S. 12. 37. Na tuṃha.

14. [因緣法] („ 68b). S. 12. 20. Paccaya.

15. [大空法] (?) („ 68b). ?

16. [說，義說] („ 69a).
S. 12. 1-2. Desanā, Vibhaṅga.

17. ? (辰 II. 69). ?

18. [他] („ 69b). S. 12. 4. Aññataraṃ.

19. [迦旃延] („ 69b).
S. 12. 15. Kaccāyanagotta.

20. [阿支羅] („ 69b). S. 12. 17. Acela.

21. [玷卑留] („ 70a). S. 12. 18. Timbaruka.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga) = *A* 14.

1. [浮彌] (辰 II. 76a). S. 12. 25. Bhūmija

2. * („ 76b). ?

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* A series of conversations between Mahākoṭṭhita and Sāriputta on *saddhamma āhāra, vyādhi, dukkha, saḷāyatana.* Cf M. 53.

3.	[衆生]	(辰 II. 77b).	S. 12. 31-32. Bhūtaṃ.
4.	[三法] *	(„ 77b-78).	?
5.	[須深]	(„ 78-79).	S. 12. 70. Susīma.
6.	[十力]	(„ 79b).	S. 12. 21-22. Dasabala.
7.	?	(„ 79b).	?
8.	[聖弟子]	(„ 79b).	S. 12. 49. Ariyasāvaka.
9.	†	(„ 80a).	S. 12, 68. Kosambi.
10-11.	[沙門婆羅門]	(„ 80).	S. 12. 13-14, Samaṇa.brāhmaṇā.
12-15.	„	(辰 II. 80b).	S. 12. 71-81. Samaṇa-brhmaṇā.
16.	[老死] (Jarāmaraṇa)	(„ 80b).	?
17.	[種智]	(„ 81a).	S. 12. 33. Ñānassa vatthūni.
19-27.	[無明增]	(„ 81a).	S. 12. 35-36. Avijjāpaccāya.
28-30.	[思量]	(„ 81a).	S. 12. 38. & 40. Cetanā.
31.	[多聞] (Bahussuta)	(„ 81b).	?
32.	[說法]	(„ 81b).	S. 12. 16. Dhammakathika.
33.	[次法] (Anudhamma)	(„ 81b).	?

[第三部] (Tatiyo Vaggo) = *A* 15. (suttas 1-24).

1.	[見法般涅槃] ‡	(辰 II. 82a).	?
2-7.	[毘婆尸等]	(„ 82a).	S. 12. 4-9. Vipassī &c.
8.	[修習]	(„ 82a).	S. 12. 83. Sikkhā.
9.	[三摩提]	(„ 82a).	S. 12. 84. Yoga.
10-16.	¶	(„ 82b).	?
17.	[食]	(„ 82b).	S. 12. 11. Ahārā.

* A discourse on the three dhammas, *jarā*, *vyādhi*, and *maraṇa*. See. p. 107.

† Place: Sāvatthi, instead of Kosambi. ‡ Diṭṭhe dhamme parinibbuto.

¶ These seven suttas describe meditations on causality, as were thought in mind by the seven Buddhas respectively before their attainment of Buddhahood. The content of the meditation is again put in verse, of about seven gāthās. The first gāthā begins thus: These *dhammas* arise as they are; every brahmācari shoud meditate on them&c. (如此諸法生 梵志勤思禪 &c.)

18.	[頗求那]	(辰 II. 83a).	S. 12. 12. Phagguna.
19.	[子肉]	(„ 83a).	S. 12. 63. Puttamaṃsa.
20-24.	[有貪]*	(„ 83b).	S. 12. 64. Atthi rāgo.

[第二 四諦品] (2. Sacca-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga) = *A* 15. (suttas 25-66).

1.	[轉法輪]	(辰 II. 84a).	S. 56. 11-12. Dhammacakkappavattana.
2.	?	(辰 II. 84b).	?
3.	?	(„ 84b).	?
4.	[當知]	(„ 84b).	S. 56. 29. Abhiññeya.
5.	?	(„ 84b).	?
6.	[漏盡]	(„ 84b).	S. 56. 25. Āsavakkhaya.
7.	[邊際] (? Anta)	(„ 85a).	?
8-9.	[無有關鍵] (Ukkhita-paligha)	(„ 85a).	?
10.	[五支六分]	(„ 85a).	S. 56. 13. Khandha and 14. Āyatana.
11.	[大醫王] (Vesajja)†	(„ 85b).	?
12-13.	[沙門婆羅門]	(„ 85b).	S. 56. 5-6. Samaṇa-brāhmaṇa.
14-22.	[如實知]	(辰 II. 86a).	S. 56. 22. Vijjā.
23.	[善男子]	(„ 86a).	S. 56. 34. Kulaputta.
24.	[須陀洹] (Sotāpatta)	(辰 II. 86a).	?
25-29.	[阿那含等] (Anāgāmin &c.)	(辰 II. 86a).	?
30-31.	[日月]	(辰 II. 86b).	S. 56. 37-38. Suriyūpama.
32.	[„]	(辰 II. 86b).	?

* With various similes which are not found in Pāli.

† This text compares Buddha with a great physician who knows well the actual conditions of illness, its causes, its remedies and its cessation. For this parellelism between the Four Truths and the four divisions of medical practice, see Patañjali's commentary on Yoga-sūtra II. 15.

33.	[佉提羅]	(辰 II. 87a).	S. 56. 32. Khadira.
34.	[因陀羅柱]	(„ 87a).	S. 56. 39. Indakhīla.
35.	[論處]	(„ 87a).	S. 56. 40. Vādino.
36.	[衣]	(„ 87a).	S. 56. 34. Cela.
37.	[百槍]	(„ 87b).	S. 56. 35. Sattisata.
38.	[平等正覺]	(„ 87b).	S. 56. 23-24. Sammā-sambuddha.
39.	[如實知]	(„ 87b).	S. 56. 21. Vijjā.
40.	[申恕林]	(„ 88a).	S. 56. 31. Sīṃsapā.
41.	[孔]	(„ 88a).	S. 56. 45. Chiggala.
42.	[龜] (? Kumma) *	(„ 88).	?

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga). †=*A* 16. (suttas 1-67).

1.	[思惟]	(辰 II. 88b).	S. 56. 41. Cintā.
2.	„	(„ 88b).	„ „ 8. „
3-6.	[覺]	(„ 89a).	S. 56. 7. Vitakkā.
7.	[論]	(„ 89a).	S. 56. 10. Kathā.
8.	[爭]	(„ 89a).	S. 56. 9. Viggāhikā.
9.	[大力] (Mahābala)	(„ 89b).	?
10.	[宿命] (Pubbanivesa)	(„ 89b).	?
11.	?	(„ 89b).	?
12.	[受持]	(„ 89b).	S. 56. 15. Dhāraṇa.
13.	[如々]	(„ 90a).	S. 56. 20. Tathā.
14.	[受持]	(„ 90a).	S. 56. 16. Dhāraṇa.
15.	[疑] (Vicikicchā)	(„ 90a).	?
16.	„	(„ 90a).	?
17.	[深險]	(„ 90).	S. 56. 42. Papāta.
18.	[大熱]	(„ 90b).	S. 56. 43. Pariḷāha.
19.	[大闇]	(„ 90b).	S. 56. 46. Andhakāra.
20.	[千明] (Sahassatejo)	(„ 90b).	?

* The difficulty of being born as man and pratising Buddha's laws is compared with the difficulty of a blind tortoise in the sea water trying to put its head into a hole of a wooden peace floating on the water.

† Here we have a fragmentary line 雜因誦第三品之四 (4th of the 3rd vagga, the Nidāna-ajjhāya).

21-22.	[千世界] (Sakassaloka)	(辰 II. 91a).	?
23-25.	?	(„ 91a).	?
26.	[禪思]	(„ 91a).	S. 56. 2 Paṭisallāṇa.
27.	[三摩提]	(„ 91a)	S. 56. 1. Samādhi.
28.	[杖]	(„ 91a).	S. 56. 33. Daṇḍa.
29.	[杖] (Daṇḍa)	(„ 91b).	?
30.	[五節] (?)	(„ 91b).	?
31.	[增上說法] (?)	(„ 91b).	?
32.	[黠慧] (Paṇḍita)	(„ 91b).	?
33.	[須達多] (Sudatta)	(„ 91b).	?
34-35.	[殿堂]	(„ 92a).	S. 56. 44. Kūṭāgara.
36.	[蟲]	(„ 92a).	S. 56. 36. Pāṇā.
37.	[山]	(„ 92).	S. 56. 49-50. Sineru.
38.	[湖池]	(„ 92b).	S. 56. 52. Pokkharaṇī.
39-46.	[薩羅等] (Sāra &c.)	(辰 II. 92b).	S. 56. 53-54. Sambhejja.
47-60.	[土等]	(„ 92b).	S. 56, 55-60. Pathavī &c.
61.	[爪甲]	(„ 92b).	S. 56. 51. Nakhasikha.
62-67.		(„ 93a),	S. 56. 61.-70.

[第三 界品] (3. Dhātu-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga). = *A* 16 (suttas 68-95).

1.	[眼藥丸] (?)	(辰 II. 93a)	?
2.	[鄙心]	(„ 93b).	S. 14. 14. Hīnādhimutti.
3.	[偈]	(辰 II. 93b).	S. 14. 16. (I). Sagātha.
4.	[行]	(辰 II. 93b).	S. 14. 15. Kamma.
5.	[偈]	(„ 94a).	S. 14. 16. (II). Sagātha.

6.	?	(辰 II. 94a).	S. 14. 12. Sanidāna.
7-12.	?	(„ 94a).	?
13-23.	[少聞等]	(„ 94a).	S. 14. 21-24. Appassuta &c.
24.	[界]	(„ 94a).	S. 14. 1. Dhātu.
25-26.	[觸]	(„ 94b).	S. 14. 2-6. Samphassa &c.
27-28.	[想]	(„ 94b).	S. 14. 7-10. Saññā &c.

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga) = *A* 17 (suttas 1-10).*

1.	[正]	(辰 II. 94b).	S. 14. 11. Sattimā.
2.	†	(„ 95a).	S. 14. 13. Giñjakāvasatha.
3.	[因]	(„ 95).	A. VI. 39. Nidāna.
4.	[自作]	(„ 95b).	A. VI. 28. Attakārī.
5.	[瞿師羅]	(„ 95b).	S. 35. 129. Ghosita
6.	„	(„ 96a).	?
7.	„	(„ 96a).	?
8.	„	(„ 96a).	?
9.	[上座名者] (Theranāma)	(„ 96).	?
10.	[著使]	(„ 96b).	S. 18. 21. Anusaya.

[第三 三受品] (3. Vedanā-saṃyutta).
= *A* 17. (suttas 11-41).

1.	[因觸]	(辰 II. 96b).	S. 36. 10. Phassamūlaka.
2.	(verses alone).	(„ 97a).	S. 36. 5. Daṭṭhaba.
3.	(„).	(„ 97a).	S. 36. 3. Pahāna.
4.	[深險]	(„ 97a).	S. 36. 4. Pātāla.
5.	[箭]	(„ 97b).	S. 36. 6. Sallata.
6.	[虛空]	(„ 98a).	S. 36. 12-13. Ākāsa.
7.	[客舍]‡	(„ 98a).	S. 36. 14. Āgāra.

* Here again 雜因誦第三品之五. (5th of the 3rd vagga, Nidāna-ajjhāya).

† Place: Migāramātu pasāde, instead of Ginjakāvasatha. Vakkali (婆迦利) instead of Kaccāyana.

‡ With verses which are not found in Pāli.

8.	[禪]	(辰 II. 98a).	S. 36. 1. Samādhi.
9.	[止息]	(„ 98b).	S. 36. 15-16. Santaka
10-16.	[先時]	(„ 98-99).	S. 36. 24. Pubbeññāna
17-18.	[禪思]	(„ 99a).	S. 36. 11. Rahogataka.
19.	[比丘]	(„ 99a).	S. 36. 25. Bhikkhu.
20.	(?)	(„ 99).	?
21-22.	[沙門婆羅門]	(„ 99b).	S. 36. 26-28. Samaṇa-brāhmaṇā.
23.	[壹奢能伽羅] (Icchānaṅgala)	(辰 II. 99b).	?
24.	[喜樂]	(„ 100a).	A. V. 176. Pīti.
25.	[無食樂]	(„ 100).	S. 36. 29. Nirāmisa.
26.	[跋陀羅] (Bhadra)	(„ 100b).	A. V. 170. Bhaddaji.
27.	[優陀夷]	(„ 100b).	S. 36. 19 & 23. Udāyi
28-31.	[一法] (Ekadhamma)	(辰 II. 101).	?

第四誦 弟子所說品

(IV. Ajjhāya, Sāvaka-vagga).

[第一舍利弗品] (1. Sāriputta-saṃyutta).

[第一部 閻浮車品] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

=S. 38. Jambukhādaka-saṃyutta.

(*A* 18. 1. 辰 III. 1-2).

1-3.	[難]	S. 38. 16. Dukkara.
4-6.	[說法]	„ 3. Dhammavādi.
7.	[涅槃]	„ 1. Nibbāna.
8.	[何故]	„ 4. Kim atthi.
9.	[漏盡] (Āsavakkhaya).	?
10-11.	[阿羅漢]	S. 38. 2. Arahatta.
12.	[無明]	„ 9. Avijjā.

13.	[有漏]	S. 38. 8.	Āsava.
14.	[有]	„ 13.	Bhava.
15.	[有身]	„ 15.	Sakkāya.
16.	[苦]	„ 14.	Dukkha.
17.	[流]	„ 11.	Ogha.
18.	[扼] (Yuga).		?
19.	[取]	S. 38. 12.	Upādāna.
20.	[縛] (Bandhana)		?
21.	[結] (Saññojana)		?
22.	[使] (Anusaya)		?
23.	[欲] (Rāga)		?
24.	[着] (Yoga)		?
25-26.	[蘇息]	S. 38. 5.	Assāsa.
27-28.	[上蘇息]	„ 6.	Paramassāsa.
29-32.	[清凉] (Sita)		?
33.	[愛]	S. 38. 10.	Taṇhā.
34.	[業跡] (Kammapada)		?
35.	[穢] (Aṅgana)		?
36-40.	[垢等] (Mala &c.)		?

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

=S. 39. Sāmaṇḍaka-vagga.

(*A* 18. 2, 辰 III. 2b line 11).

[第三部] (3. Tatiya-vagga).

1.	[泥水]*	(*A* 18. 3, 辰 III. 2b).	A. IV. 178. Jambāli.
2.		(„ 4, „ 3a).	?
3.	[枯樹]	(„ 5, „ 3a).	A. VI. 41. Dārukkhandha.
4.	[戒]	(„ 6, „ 3a).	A. V. 168. Sīla. †

* The same discourse as A. IV. 178, spoken by Sāriputta.

† Comp. A. XI. 4-5. Upanisā.

5. [諍] (Vivāda) (*A* 18, 7, 辰 III. 3b). ?
6. [舉罪] („ 8, „ 3-4). A. V. 167 Codanā.
7. [那羅捷陀] („ 9, „ 4b). S. 47. 12. Nāḷanda.
8. [石柱] („ 10, „ 5a). A. IX. 26. Silāyūpa.
9. [淨口] („ 11, „ 5b). S. 28. 10. Sucimukhī.

[第二 目揵連品] (2. Moggallāna-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

1. [默然] (Mona) (*A* 18. 12. 辰 III. 5b). S. 40. 1-6. (?)
2. [無相] („ 12. „ 6a).
S. 40. 7-9. Akiñcañña &c.
3. ? (*A* 18. 14. 辰 III. 6a). S. 21. 3. Ghaṭa
4. ? (*A* 19. 1. „ 6b). ?
5. [愛盡] („ 2. „ 7a). M. 37. Taṇhāsaṅkhaya.
6. [帝釋] („ 3. „ 7). S. 40. 10. Sakka.
7. [天] („ 4. „ 8a). S. 55. 18. Devacārika.

[第二部 勒叉那* 品] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

=S. 19. Lakkhaṇa-saṃyutta.

1. [屠牛兒] (*A* 19. 5, 辰 III. 8a). S. 19. 1. Aṭṭhipesi.
2. [屠牛者] („ 6, „ 8b).
S. 19. 2. Gavaghāṭaka.
3. [屠羊者] („ 7, „ 8b).
S. 19. 4. Nicchavorabbhi.
4. [屠羊弟子] („ 8, „ 9a). ?
5. [墮胎] („ 9, „ 9a). ?
6. [調象士] („ 10, „ 9a).
S. 19. 3. Piṇḍasakuṇiya.
17-0. [調馬士, 等] („ 19. 11-14, „ 9a). ?

* The name reads Lakṣaṇa.

10. [好戰] (*A* 19, 15, 辰 III. 9a).
S. 19. 9. Sūcaka. (?)

12. [獵師] („ 16, „ 9a).
S. 19. 6. Sattimāgavi.

13. [殺豬] („ 17, „ 9a).
S. 19. 5. Asisukārika.

14. [斷人頭] („ 18 „ 9b).
S. 19. 16. Coraghātaka.

15. [捉頭] (*A* 19. 19, 辰 III 9b). ?

16. [僞器鍛銅人] („ 20, „ 9b). ?

17. [斗秤欺人] („ 21, „ 9b.) ?

18. [村主市監] („ 22, „ 9b).
S. 19. 10. Gāmakutaka.

19. [捕魚師] („ 23, „ 9b). ?

20-21. [捕鳥, 網兎] („ 24-25, „ 9b). ?

22. [卜占女] („ 26, „ 9b). ?
S. 19. 14. Ikkhaṇikā.

23. [卜占師] („ 27, „ 10a). ?

24. [好他淫] („ 28, „ 10a).
S. 19. 11. Paradārika.

25. [賣色] („ 29, „ 10a).
S. 19. 13. Aticārini.

26. [瞋恚燈油灑] („ 30, „ 10a).
S. 19. 15. Sapattaṅgārakokiri.

27. [憎嫉婆羅門] („ 31, „ 10).
S. 19. 12. Duṭṭha-brāhmaṇa.

28. [知事不分油] („ 32, „ 10b). ?

29. [盜取七果] („ 33, „ 10b). ?

30. [盜食石蜜] („ 34, „ 10b). ?

31. [盜取二燧] („ 35, „ 10b). ?

32-38. [比丘等] („ 36, „ 11a).
S. 19. 17-21. Bhikkhu, &c.

39. [駕乘牛車] („ 43, „ 11a). ?

40. [呵責諸比丘] („ 44, „ 11a). ?

41. [惡口形名] (*A* 19. 45, 辰 III. 11a). ?
42. [好起諍訟] („ 46, „ 11a). ?

[第三 阿那律 or 念處品]

(3. Anuruddha, or Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta.)

1-2. [獨一] (*A* 19. 47, 辰 III. 11b).
S. 52. 1-2. Rahogata.
3-5. [楞林?] (*A* 20. 1-3, 辰 III. 12a). S. 52. 4-6. Kaṇṭaki.
6. [所患] („ 4, „ 12b).
S. 52. 10. Bāḷhagilāya.
7. „ („ 5, „ 12b). ?
8. [手成池?] („ 6, „ 12b). S. 52. 3. Sutanu.
9. [離漏?] („ 7, „ 13a).
S. 52. 7. Taṇhakkhaya.
10. [林楞] („ 8, „ 13a). ?
11. „ („ 9, „ 13a). ?

[第四 大迦旃延品]

(4. Mahākaccāyana-saṃyutta).

1. [澡灌杖] (*A* 20. 10, 辰 III. 13).
A. II. 4. 6. Ārāmadaṇḍa.
2. [執杖] („ 11, „ 13b).
A. II. 4. 7. Kaṇḍarāyana.
3. [摩偷羅] („ 12, „ 13-14). M. 84. Madhura.
4. [迦梨] („ 13, „ 14b). A. X. 26. Kālī.
5. [離] („ 14, „ 15a). A. V. 26. Vimutti.
6-7. [訶梨] („ 15-16 „ 15b-16a).
S. 22. 3-4. Hāliddikāni.
8. „ („ 17, „ 16a).
S. 35. 130. Hāliddikāni.
9. „ („ 18, „ 16). ?
10. „ („ 19, „ 16b). ?

[第五 阿難陀品] (5. Ānanda-saṃyutta).

	?	(*A* 20. 20, 辰 III. 16b).	?
2.	[闍知羅] (Jaṭilā)	(„ 21, „ 17a).	A. IX. 37 (71).
3.	?	(„ 22, „ 17a).	?
4.	?	(„ 23, „ 17a).	?
5.	[迦摩]	(*A* 21. 1, „ 17).	S. 35. 192. Kāmabhū.
6.	[度量]	(„ 2, „ 17b).	A. IV. 170 Yuganandha.
7.	[婆羅門]	(„ 3, „ 17b).	S. 51. 15. B. Brāhmaṇa.
8.	[醯師多]	(„ 4, „ 18a).	? S. 35. 129. Ghosita.
9.	[尼揵]	(„ 5, „ 18).	A. III. 74. Nigaṇṭha.
10.	[比丘尼]	(„ 6, „ 18b).	? A. IV. 159. Bhikkhunī.
11.	[婆頭] (娑補?)	(„ 7, „ 19a).	A. IV. 194. Sāpugī.

[第六 質多羅品] (6. Citra-saṃyutta).

1.	[那伽達多] (Nāgadatta)	(*A* 21. 8, 辰 III. 19b).	S. 41. 5. Kāmabhū.
2.	„	(„ 9, „ 19b).	S. 41. 7. Godatta.
3.	[迦摩]	(„ 10, „ 20a).	S. 41. 6. Kāmabhū.
4-5.	[黎犀達多] (Ṛsidatta)	(„ 11-12, „ 20b-21a).	S. 41. 2-3. Isidatta.
6.	[摩訶迦]	(„ 13, „ 21).	S. 41. 4. Mahaka.
7.	[繫]	(„ 14, „ 21b).	S. 41. 1. Saññojana.

8. [阿耆毘迦]* (*A* 21 15, 辰 III. 21-22). S. 41. 9. Acela.
9. [尼揵] („ 16, „ 22a). S. 41. 8. Nigaṇṭha.
10. [病相] („ 17, „ 22).
S. 41. 10. Gilānadassana.

第五誦 道品 (V Ajjhāya, Magga-vagga).

[第一 念處品] (1. Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta) = *A* 24.

1-2. [念處] (Satipaṭṭhāna). (辰 III. 39b). ?
3. [淨]. („ „).
S. 47. 24. Suddhaka.
4. [甘露]. („ 39b). S. 47. 41. Amata.
5. [集]. („ 39b).
S. 47. 42. Samudaya.
6-7. [正念] („ 39b). S. 47. 2. Sato.
8. [善聚]. („ 40a). S. 47. 5. Kusalarāsi.
9. [弓]. (Dhanuggaha). („ 40a). ?
10. [不善聚] (Akusalarāsi). („ „). ?
11-14. [惡行等]. („ „).
S. 47. 47-50. Duccarita &c.
15. [大丈夫]. („ 40a).
S. 47. 11. Mahāpurisa.
16. [比丘尼]. („ 40b). S. 47. 10. Bhikkhunī.
17. [廚士]. („ 40b). S. 47. 8. Sūda.
18. [鳥]. („ 41a).
S. 47. 6. Sakuṇagghi.†
19. [四果] (Phala). (辰 III. 41b). ?
20. [私陀伽]. („ „). S. 47. 19. Sedaka.

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* Aggiveka? Or 耆毘 for 支羅, then Acelaka.
† Cf. Jātaka No. 168.

21.	[猴猴].	(辰 III. 41b).	S. 47. 7. Makkaṭa.
22.	[年少比丘]. (Acirapabbajita)	(„ 41b).	S. 47. 4. Sāla.
23.	[菴羅女].*	(„ 42a).	S. 47. 1. Ambāpali.
24.	[世間]†	(„ 42a).	S. 47. 20. Janapada.
25.	[鬱低迦].	(„ 42b).	S. 47. 16. Uttiya.
26.	[異比丘]. (Bhikkhu.)	(„ 42b).	?
27.	[婆醯迦].	(„ 42b).	S. 47. 15. Bāhiya.
28.	[比丘].‡ (Bhikkhu.)	(„ 43a).	?
29.	[阿那律]. (Anuruddha.)	(„ „).	?
30.	[優陀夷]. (Udāyi).	(„ „).	?
31-34.	[行]?	(„ „).	S. 47. 21. Sila.
35.	[一切法]. (Sabbadhamma).	(„ 43b).	?
36.	[聖賢].	(„ 43b).	S. 47. 17. Ariya.
37-42.	[盡苦等].	(„ 43b).	S. 47. 32. Virāga.
43-47.	[光澤]. (Vaṇṇa).	(„ 43b).	?
48.	[比丘].	(„ 43b).	S. 47. 3. Bhikkhu.
49.	[波羅提木叉]. (Prātimokṣa)	(„ 44a).	S. 47. 46. Pātimokkha.
50.	[純陀].	(辰 III. 44a).	S. 47. 13. Cunda.
51.	?	(„ 44b).	S. 47. 14. Cela.

[第二根品] (2. Indriya-saṃyutta) = *A* 26, suttas 1-27.

1.	[學]	(辰 III. 48b).	A. III. 84. Sekha.
2.	[淨].	(„ „).	S. 48. 1. Suddhika.

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* Combined with the story of Ambāpali's visit to Buddha and the verse in praise of her liberality.

† With verses similar to those of A. IV. 27, 29 and 30.

‡ The same text as the preceeding one, only difference in putting a "certain bhikkhu" instead of Uttiya or Bāhiya.

3.	[須陀洹]	(辰 III. 48b).	S. 48. 2-3. Sotāpatta.
4.	[阿羅漢]	(„ 48b).	S. 48. 4-5 Arahā.
5.	[當知]	(„ 48b).	S. 48. 8. Daṭṭhabba.
6.	[廣說]	(„ 48b).	S. 48. 9. Vibhaṅga.
7.	[略說]	(„ 49a).	S. 48. 12. Saṅkhitta.
8.	[漏盡]	(„ 49a).	S. 48. 20. Āsavānaṃ khaya.
9-10.	[沙門婆羅門]	(„ 49a).	S. 48. 6. Samaṇabrāhmṇa.
11-12.	[成?]	(„ 49b).	S. 48. 13-18. Paṭipanna &c.
13-17.	[堂閣] (Kūṭāgara)	(„ 49b).	S. 48: 52. (?).
18.	[信]	(„ 50a).	S. 48. 50. Saddha (?).
19-27.	[苦斷等] (Dukkhanirodha).	(„ 50a).	?

[第三 力品] (3. Bala-saṃyutta).

1.	[二力]	(*A* 26. 28, 辰 III. 50a).	A. II. 2. 1. Bala.
2-12.	„	(„ 29-39. „ „).	?
13-18.	[三力]*	(„ 40-45. „ 50b).	?
19-20.	[四力]†	(„ 46-47, „ 50b).	?
21.	[攝]	(„ 48, „ 51a).	A. IV. 32. Saṅgaha.
22-24.	[四力]‡	(„ 49-51, „ „).	?
25.	[五力]	(„ 52, „ „).	S. 50. 1. Bala.
26.	„	(„ 53, „ 51b).	?
27.	[當知]	(„ 54, „ „).	S. 48. 7. Daṭṭhabba.
28.	[五力]	(„ 55, „ „).	?
29-30.		(„ 56-57, „ „).	A. V. 1. Saṅkhitta.
31-32.	[學力] (Sekhabala).	(„ 58-59, „ „).	?

* The three balas, *saddhā*, *viriya*, and *paññā*.

† The four balas, *saddhā*, *viriya*, *sati*, and *paññā*. Cf. A. IV. 152.

‡ The four balas, *paññā*, *viriya*, *anavajja*, and *saṅgaha*. Cf. A IV. 153-155.

33-34.	[白法] (Sukkadhamma).	(*A* 26. 60-61, 辰 III. 52a).	?
35.	[不善法] (Akusaladhamma).	(„ 62, „ 52a).	?
36.	[十力] (Dasa-bala)	(„ 63, „ 52a).	Cf. M. 12. Mahā-sīhanāda.
37.	[乳母] (Dhāti)	(„ 64, „ 52b).	?
38-39.	[師子吼]	(„ 65-66, „ 53a).	A. VI. 64. Sīhanāda.
40-41.	[七力]	(„ 67-68, „ 53a).	A. VII. 3. Bala.
42-43.	„	(„ 69-70, „ 53b).	A. VII. 4-5. „
44-45.	[八力]	(„ 71-72, „ 53b).	A. VIII. 27. „
46-48.	„	(„ 73-75, „ 53b).	A. VIII. 28. „
49-50.	[九力]*	(„ 76-77, „ 54a).	?
51-52.	[王力] (Rāja-bala).	(„ 78-79, „ 54a).	?
53-55.	[如來力] (Tathāgata-bala).	(„ 80-82, „ 54a).	?

[第四 覺分品] (4. Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta).

1.	[不正]	(*A* 26. 83, 辰 III. 54b).	S. 46. 24. Ayonisa.
2.	[不退]	(„ 84, „ 54b).	S. 46. 34. Kilesa and S. 46. 37. Aparihāni.
3.	[蓋]	(„ 85, „ 54b).	S. 46. 40. Nīvaraṇa.
4.	[障蓋]	(„ 86, „ 55a).	S. 46. 38. Āvaraṇa-nīvaraṇa.
5.	[樹]	(„ 87, „ 55a).	S. 46. 39. Rukkha.
6.	?	(„ 88, „ „).	S. 46. 23. Ṭhāṇa (?).
7.	[聽法] (Dhammasota).	(„ 89, „ 55).	?
8-9.	[無畏]	(*A* „ 90, 27. 1, „ 55b, „ 56a).	S. 46. 56. Abhaya.
10.	[轉趣]	(„ 2, „ 56a).	S. 46. 52. Pariyāya.

* The nine balas, *saddhā*, *viriya*, *hiri*, *ottappa*, *sati*, *samādhi*, *paññā*, *saṅkha*, and *bhāvana*.

11.	[火]	(*A* 27. 3, 辰 III. 56b).	S. 46. 53. Aggi.
12.	[食]	(„ 4, „ 57a).	S. 46. 51. Āhāra.
13-14.	[一法]	(„ 5-6, „ 57b).	S. 46. 29. Ekadhamma.
15.	[比丘]	(„ 7, „ 57b).	S. 46. 4. Bhikkhu.
16.	[優波摩]	(„ 8, „ 58a).	S. 46. 8. Upavāna.
17.	[阿那律] (Anuruddha).	(„ 9, „ 58a).	?
18.	[轉輪王]	(„ 10, „ 58a).	S. 46. 42. Cakkavatti.
19.	„	(„ 11, „ 58b).	?
20.	[年少]	(„ 12, „ 59a).	?
21.	[果報]	(„ 13, „ 59a).	?
22.	[不善聚]	(„ 14, „ 59a).	?
23.	[善知識]*	(„ 15, „ 59b).	Cf. S. 45. 2.
24.	? †	(„ 16, „ 59b).	?
25.	[說]	(„ 17, „ 60a).	S. 46. 22. Desanā.
26.	[滅]	(„ 18, „ 60a).	S. 46. 27. Nirodha.
27.	[分]	(„ 19, „ 60a).	S. 46. 41. Vidhā.
28.	[支節]	(„ 20, „ 60a).	S. 46. 49. Aṅga.
29.	[起]	(„ 21, „ 60a).	S. 46. 10. Uppanna.
30.	[七道品]	(„ 22, „ 60a).	?
31-33.	[果報]‡	(„ 23-25, „ 60b).	?
34.	[七道品]	(„ 26, „ 60b).	?
35-37.	[果報]‡	(„ 27-29, „ 60b).	?
38.	[不淨觀]	(„ 30, „ 61a).	S. 46. 67. Asubha.
39.	[死念]	(„ 31, „ 61a).	S. 46. 68. Maraṇa.
40.	[慈]	(„ 32, „ 61a).	S. 46. 54. Mettā.
41.	[慈]	(„ 33, „ 61b).	S. 46. 62. Mettā.
42-45.	[滅]	(„ 34-37, „ 61b).	S. 46. 76. Nirodha.

* A discourse on the *kalyāṇamitta*, nearly the same as No. 23. in the next division, except the mention of the bojjhaṅga at the close.

† A discourse on the bojjhaṅga, following the descriptions of Buddha's lying in bed, as stated in the Mahāparinibbāna, V. 2-3.

‡ Descriptions of the fruits (*phala*) of practising the *bojjhaṅga* as in S. 46. 3.

46-66. [無常] (*A* 27. 38-58, 辰 III. 61b).
S. 46. 71-75. Anicca &c.

[第五 道品] (5. Magga-saṃyutta).

A 28. and part of *A* 29.

1.	[日出]	(辰 III. 62a).	S. 45. 55. [Suriya].
2.	[無明]	(„ 62a).	S. 45. 1. Avijjā.
3.	„	(„ 62a).	?
4.	[起]?	(„ 62a).	S. 45. 24. Paṭipadā.
5.	[迦摩] (Kāmabhū)	(„ 62b).	?
6.	[阿黎吒] (Ariṭṭha)	(„ 62b).	?
7.	[舍利弗] (Sāriputta)	(„ 62b).	?
8-10.	[比丘] (Bhikkhu)	(„ 62b).	?
11.	[畏]	(„ 62b).	A. III. 62. Bhaya.
12.	[受]	(„ 63a).	S. 45. 29. Vedanā.
13.	[三法]*	(„ 63a).	?
14.	[學]	(„ 63b).	S. 45. 13. Sekha.
15-16.	[正士] (Sappurisa)	(„ 63b).	?
17.	[漏盡] (Āsavakkhaya)	(„ 63b).	?
18-20.	[修]	(„ 63b).	S. 45. 14-15. Uppāda.
21-22.	[清淨]	(„ 63b).	S. 45. 16-17. Parisuddha.
23.	[聚]	(„ 64a).	A. V. 52. Rāsi.
24.	[半]	(„ 64a).	S. 45. 2. Upaḍḍha.
25.	[婆羅門]	(„ 64a).	S. 45. 4. Brāhmaṇa.
26.	[邪]	(„ 64a).	S. 45. 21. Micchatta.
27-30.	[彼岸]	(„ 64b).	S. 45. 34. Pāraṃgamā.
31-52.	[一法]	(„ 64b).	S. 45. 77-90. Ekadhamma.

* Equal to the beginning part of III. 1. 2. 4, i. e. the three *dhammā aniccā akantā amanāpā* (See p. 91). The Tathāgata appears in the world because there are the three dhammas, *jarā*, *vyādhi* and *maraṇa*. This remark is found in A. X. 76. 1-2.

53-63.	[非法是法等]	(長 III. 65b).	?
64-74.	[斷貪等]	(„ 65b).	?
75-76.	[邪正]*	(„ 66a).	?
77-81.	[向邪]	(„ 67a).	?
82-89.	[生聞] (Jāṇussoni)	(„ 67b).	?
90-91.	[邪正]*	(„ 67b).	?
92-94.	[順流逆流]†	(„ 67b).	?
95-97.	[沙門]	(„ 68a).	S. 45. 35-36. Sāmaññā.
98-99.	[沙門法]	(*A* 29. 1-2, 長 III. 68a).	?
100.	[沙門果]	(„ 3, „ 68a).	?
101-104.	[婆羅門]	(„ 4-7, „ 68a).	S. 45. 37-40. Brāhmaññā.

[第六 安那般那品] (6. Ānāpāna-saṃyutta).

1.	[饒益]	(*A* 29. 8, 長 III. 68b).	?
2-3.	[一明]	(„ 9-10, „ 68b).	S. 54. 1. Ekadhamma.
4.	[斷覺想]	(„ 11, „ 69a).	?
5-7.	[福利等]	(„ 12-14, „ 69a).	S. 54. 3-5. Phala &c.
8.	[阿黎瑟吒] (Ariṣṭha)	(„ 15, „ 69a).	S. 54. 6. Ariṭṭha.
9.	[扇賓那]	(„ 16, „ 69a).	S. 54. 7. Kappina.
10.	[一奢能伽羅]	(„ 17, „ 69a).	S. 54. 11. Icchānaṅgala.
11.	[迦摩] (Kāmabhū)	(„ 18, „ 69b).	S. 54. 12. Kaṅkheyya.
12.	[金剛?]‡	(„ 19, „ 69b).	S. 54. 9. Vesāli. (?).
13.	[阿難]	(„ 20, „ 70a).	S. 54. 13-14. Ānanda.

* *Micchā* and *sammā*.

† *Paṭisota* and *anusota*.

‡ A discourse on the *asubha-va* *ā*, as in S. 54. 9. and with the story of a bikkhu Migavan (鹿林) killing many a bhikkhu, who wished to die in consequence of having heard Buddha's sermon.

14-15.	[比丘]	(辰 29. 21-22, 辰 III. 70b).	S. 54. 15-16. Bhikkhu.
16.	[金毘羅]	(„ 23, „ „).	S. 54. 10. Kimbila.
17.	[不疲]	(„ 24, „ 71a).	?
18.	[布薩] (Uposatha)	(„ 25, „ „).	?

[第七 學品] (7. Sekha-saṃyutta).

1.	[學]	(*A* 29, 26, 辰 III. 71b).	A. III. 89. Sikkha.
2-3.	„	(„ 27-28, „ 72a).	
4.	„	(„ 29, „ „).	A. III. 87. Sādhika (1).
5-6.	„	(„ 30-31, „ „).	A. III. 85-86, Sekha.
7.	[涅槃] (Nibbāna)	(„ 32, „ „).	?
8.	„	(„ 33, „ „).	?
9.	[學]*	(„ 34, „ 73a).	A. III. 84. Sekha.
10.	„	(„ 35, „ „).	Itiv. 46. Sikkhā.
11.	„ †	(„ 36, „ „).	?
12-15.	„	(„ 37-40, „ 73b).	?
16.	[耕磨]	(„ 41, „ „).	A. III. 82. Sukhetta.
17.	?	(„ 42, „ „).	A. III. 81. Samaṇa.
18.	[跋耆子]	(„ 43, „ 74a).	A. III. 83. Vajjiputta.
19.	[崩伽陀]	(*A* 30. 1, „ „).	A. III. 90. Paṅkadhāya.
20.	[戒] (Sila)	(„ 2, „ 74b).	?
21.	[三學]	(„ 3, „ 75b).	A III. 88. Sikkha.
22.	[聖諦等] (Sacca &c)	(„ 4, „ „).	?

[第八 不壞淨品]

(8. Aveccapasāda, or Sotāpatta-saṃyutta).

1.	[離車]	(*A* 30. 5, 辰 III. 75a).	S. 55. 30. Licchavi.
2.	[不貧] (Adalidda)	(„ 6, „ „).	?

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* With the verses as in Itiv. 62.

† An expansion of the above discourse.

3.	[王]	(*A* 30. 7, 辰 III. 75a).	S. 55. 1. Rājā.
4.	?	(„ 8, „ „).	S. 55. 17. Mittenāmaccā.
5.	[過患] (Ādīnava)	(„ 9, „ 75b).	?
6.	[食] (Āhāra)	(„ 10, „ „).	?
7-8.	[戒] (Sīla)	(„ 11-12, „ „).	?
9.	[潤澤]	(„ 13, „ 76a).	S. 55. 41-42. Abhisandha.
10.	[婆羅門]	(„ 14, „ 76a).	S. 55. 12. Brāhmaṇa.
11.	[舍利弗]	(„ 15, „ „).	S. 55. 5. Sāriputta.
12.	„	(„ 16, „ 76b).	S. 55. 4. „
13.	[恐怖]	(„ 17, „ „).	S. 55. 29. Verabhaya.
14.	„	(„ 18, „ „).	S. 55. 28. Verabhaya.
15-18.*	[天道]	(„ 19-20, „ 77a).	S. 55. 34-35. Devapada.
19-24.	[法鏡]† (Dhamma-ādāsa).	(„ 23-28, „ 77b).	S. 55. 8-9. Ginjakāvasatha.
25.	[繁耆迦]	(*A* 30, 29, 辰 III. 78a).	S. 55. 10. Giñjakāvasatha.
26.	[難提]	(„ 30, „ 78a).	S. 55. 40. Nandiya
27.	„	(„ 31, „ 78b).	S. 55. 47. „
28.	„	(„ 32, „ „).	?
29.	„	(„ 33, „ „).	A. XI. 14. Nandiya.
30.	[黎師達多]‡	(„ 34, „ 79a).	?
31.	[田業]	(„ 35, „ „).	S. 55. 6. Thapati.
32.	[釋氏]	(*A* 41. 1, 辰 IV. 35b).	A. X. 46. Sakka.
33.	[疾病]§	(„ 2, „ 36a).	S. 55. 54. Giliyana.
34.	[菩提]	(„ 3, „ „).	S. 55. 48. Bhaddiya.
35.	[往生]	(„ 4, „ 36b).	S. 55. 36. Sabhāgata
36-37.	[須陀洹]	(„ 5-6, „ „).	S. 55. 46. Sotāpatta.

* No. 16. is much expanded.

† Place and persons different.

‡ Ṛṣidatta and Purāṇa. The same discourse as above.

§ Nandiya, instead of Mahānāma.

38-45. [四法] (*A* 41. 7-14, 辰 IV. 36b). ?
46-47. [四果] („ 15-16, „ „).
S. 55. 55-58 Caturo Phalā.
48-79. [行住坐臥等] („ 17-48, „ 36b). ?
(Caranta, ṭhitā, nisinnā, sayānā).
80-83. [潤澤] („ 49-52, „ „).
S. 55. 31-33. Abhisandha.
84. [四十天子] („ 53, „ 36b).
S. 55. 20. Devacārika.

(The following minor saṃyutta's which make up the whole of *A* 31, are extremely difficult to be divided into suttas and the enumeration of the suttas cannot be given exactly).

〔第九 天品〕 (9. Deva-saṃyutta) (辰 III. 79b).
〔第十 是形品〕 (10. Tad-rūpa-s.) (辰 III. 79b-81a).
a (辰 III. 80b) = A. IV. 8.
b (辰 III. 80b) = Itivuttaka 74.
〔第十一 正斷品〕 (11. Sammāppadhāna-s.)
(辰 III. 81a-82b).
a (辰 III. 81a, l. 14) = A. IV. 69.
b („ 81b, l. 1) = A. IV. 14.
c („ „ l. 16) = A. VI. 53. and A. X. 15.
〔第十二 四禪品〕 (12. Jhāna-s.) (辰 III. 82b-83a).
= S. 53. Jhāna-saṃyutta.
〔第十三 三明品〕 (13. Tevijjā-s.) (辰 III. 83a-b).
a (辰 III. 83a, l. 2) = A. III. 58-59.
〔第十四 無爲品〕 (14. Asaṅkata-s.)* (辰 III. 83b)
= S. 43. Asaṅkata.

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* In the whole saṃyutta we have 21 different epithets of the way (against 32 of the Pāli tradition). They are as follows:

無爲 (asaṅkata), 難見 (sududdasa, anidassana), 不動 (dhuva), 不屈 (ajajjara), 不死 (amata), 無漏 (anāsava), 覆蔭 (leṇa ?), 洲渚 (dīpa), 濟渡 (tāṇa), 依止 (saraṇa), 擁護 (?), 不流轉 (anītika ?), 離熱惱 (?), 離燃燒 (?), 流通 (paṇīta ?), 清涼 (santa ?), 微妙 (nipuṇa), 安隱 (khema), 無病 (avyāpajja), 無所有 (anālaya ?) and 涅槃 (nibbāna).

〔第十五 湖水品〕 (15. Samudda-s.) (辰 III. 84a)
=S. 13. Abhisamaya.
〔第十六 六入品〕 (16. Saḷāyatana-s.) (辰 III. 84a)
〔第十七 種子品〕 (17. Bīja-s.) (辰 III. 84a)
〔第十八 世間品〕 (18. Loka-s.) (辰 III. 84a-b).
〔第十九 大師品〕 (19. Satthā-s.) (辰 III. 84b)
〔第二十 羅睺羅品〕 (20. Rāhula-s.) (辰 III. 84b)
=S. 18. Rāhula.
〔第二十一 比丘品〕 (21. Bhikkhu-s.) (辰 III. 85a

[第六誦 八衆品]

(VI. Ajjhāya, Puggala-vagga).

[第一 八衆品] [1. Puggala-saṃyutta).

1. [毗舍離賈客] (*A* 35. 11, 辰 III. 108b). ?
(Vesaliyā vanijja).
2. [幢] („ 12, „ 109a).
S. 11. 1-3 Dhajagga (except verse).
3-4. [阿難舍利弗] (*A* 35. 13-14, 辰 III. 109a).
A. III. 32. Ānanda-Sāriputta.
5. [愛] („ 15, 辰 III. 109b). A. IV. 199. Taṇhā.
6. „ („ 16, „ 110a). A. IV. 200. Pemā.
7. [二事斷] („ 17, „ 110b). ?
8. [二法] („ 18, „ 110b). ?
9-10. [帝釋] („ 19-20, „ 110b). S. 40. 10. Sakka.
11. [鹿住] („ 21, „ 111a).
A. X. 75. Migasālā.
12. „ („ 22, 辰 III. 111b).
A. VI. 44. Migasālā.
13. [延請] („ 23, 辰 III. 112a).
A. II. 4. 4. Dakkhiṇeyya.

14.	[給孤獨]* (Anāthapiṇḍika).	(*A* 47. 1, 長 IV. 71b).	?
15.	[給孤獨]	(*A* 47. 2, „ 71b).	?
16.	[淨法]	(„ 3, „ 72a).	Itiv. 42. Dhamma.
17.	[燃燒法]†	(„ 4, „ „).	?
18.	[惡行]	(„ 5, „ 72b).	A. III. 17. Pāpaṇika.

[第二 譬喻品] (2. Opamma-Saṃyutta).

1.	[鑄金者]	(*A* 47. 6, 長 IV. 72b).	A. III. 100 Suvaṇṇakāra (13-14).
2.	„	(„ 7, 長 IV. 73a).	A. III. 100 „ (1-5).
3.	[牧牛者]	(„ 8, 長 IV. 73a).	M. 34. Gopālaka.
4.	„	(„ 9, „ 73b).	M. 33. „
5.	[那提迦]‡	(„ 10, „ 74a).	A. V. 30, A. VI. 42. A. VIII. 86. Nāgita.
6.	„	(„ 11, „ 74b).	
7.	[枕木]	(„ 12, „ 74b).	S. 20. 8. Kaliṅgara.
8.	[鋑]	(„ 13, „ 75a).	S. 20. 4. Ukkā.
9.	[人家]	(„ 14, „ „).	S. 20. 3. Kula.
10.	[匕手劒]	(„ 15, „ „).	S. 20. 5. Satti.
11.	[爪上]	(„ 16, „ „).	S. 20. 2. Nakhasikha.
12.	[弓手]	(„ 17, „ „).	S. 20. 6. Dhanuggaha.
13.	[皷]	(„ 18, „ 75b).	S. 20. 7. Āṇi.
14.	[鐵丸]§	(„ 19, „ „).	?
15.	[猫]	(„ 20, „ „).	S. 20. 10. Bilāra.
16.	[木杵]/	(„ 21, „ 76a).	?

* A very interesting confession of the gahapati Anāthapiṇḍika that he dedicates all the merits of his faith and works for the sake of his relatives, friends, kings and all other beings.

† A discourse on the *dahadhamma*, and *adahadhamma*, with descriptions of the hells and the verse "*Catukanno*" (A. III. 35).

‡ The name reads Nādika. The three Pāli suttas are combined.

§ *Ayogula*. The simile of an iron ball heated in fire to red-heat.

/ *Musala?* The simile of a wooden pastle spoiled by use.

17.	[野狐]	(*A* 47. 22, 長 IV. 76a).	S. 20. 11. Singālaka.
18.	[糞尿]	(„ 23, „ „).	S. 17. 5. Piḷhika
19.	[野狐]	(„ 24, „ „).	S. 17. 8. Siṅgāla

[第三 病品] (3. Ābādhika-saṃyutta).

1.	[跋迦黎]	(*A* 47. 25, 長 IV. 76b).	S. 22. 87. Vakkali
2.	[闡陀]	(„ 26, „ 77a).	S. 35. 87. Channa.
3.	[巨求那]	(*A* 37. 1, 長 IV. 9a).	A. VI. 56. Phagguna.
4.	[阿濕波誓]	(„ 2, „ 9b).	S. 22. 88. Assaji.
5-6.	[疾病]	(„ 3-4, „ 9b).	S. 35. 74-75. Gilāna.
7.	[病比丘]	(„ 5, „ 10a).	?
8.	[疾病]*	(„ 6, „ 10b).	S. 36. 7. Gelañña.
9.	„ †	(„ 7, „ 11a).	S. 36. 8. „
10.	[給孤獨]‡	(„ 8, „ „).	?
11.	„	(„ 9, „ „).	S. 55. 27. Anāthapiṇḍika.
12.	„ §	(„ 10, „ 11b).	S. 55. 26. „
13.	[達磨提離]¶	(„ 11, „ 11b).	? S. 55. 53, Dhammadinna.
14.	[長壽]	(„ 12, „ „).	S. 55. 3. Dīghāvu.
15.	[婆藪]/ (Vāsu ?)	(*A* 37. 13, „ 12a).	?
16.	[沙羅]‖ (Sāḷha.)	(„ 14, „ „).	?

* With the verse of S. 36. 3. † With the verse of S. 36. 6. See p. 65.

‡ Buddha visits Anāthapiṇḍika at his sick bed and instructs him in the truth of the five *khandhas*, as in S. 22. 89. Khema, and exhorts him to the practice of the *aveccapasāda*. § Without verse.

¶ The name does not read exactly Dhammadinna, unless we substitute 那 instead of 離.

/ This sutta and No. 17 (next page) are abridged, being nearly the same texts as 18. Mānadinna, which again is very similar to. S. 47. 29. Sirivaddha. Yaso may possibly be another name for Sirivaddha.

‖ This is nearly the same text as 13-16, except as to persons and places. In all of them the first part is abridged and rendered "as in the Khema-sutta" (差摩修多羅), i.e., S. 22. 89. (see p. 83). The place of no. 15 is Isipatana and that of no. 17. is Giñjakavāsa of Natika district (那提聚落曲谷精舍).

17. [耶輸]* (Yaso) (*A* 37. 15, 辰 IV. 12a). ?
18. [摩那提那] („ 16, „ „). S. 47. 30. Mānadinna.

[第四 應報品] (4. Vipāka-saṃyutta).

1. [淳陀] (*A* 37. 17, 辰 IV. 12b). A. X. 176. Cunda.
2. [捨行] („ 18, „ 13a). A. X. 167. Paccorohaṇī.
3. [生聞] („ 19, „ 13b). A. X. 177. Jāṇussoṇi.
4-5. [鞞羅摩]† („ 20-21, „ 14a). ?
6. [鞞紐多羅] („ 22, „ 14b). S. 55. 7. Veludvāra.
7. [隨類] („ 23, „ „). A. X. 199. (?).
8. [蚍行] („ 24, „ „). A. X. 205. Saṃsappaniya.
9-10. [圓珠] („ 25-26, „ 14b). A. X. 206. Maṇi.
11. [從生] („ 27, „ „). A. X. 174. Hetu.
12. [出不出] („ 28, „ 15b). A. X. 175. Parikamma.
13. [岸] („ 29, „ „). A. X. 170. Tīra.
14. [眞實法] („ 30, „ „). A. X. 191. Saddhamma.
15. [惡法] („ 31, „ „). A. IV. 207-210. Pāpadh.
16. [善男子] („ 32, „ „). A. X. 192. Sappurisadh.
17. ? („ 33, „ „). A. IV. 201. Sikhāpada.
18. [十法] („ 34, „ 16a). A. X. 210. Dasa-dh.
19. [二十法] („ 35, „ „). A. X. 211. Vīsati-dh.
20. [三十法] („ 36, „ „). A. X. 212. Tiṃsā-dh.
21. [四十法] („ 37, „ „). A. X. 213. Cattārisā-dh.
22-32. [法非法等]‡ („ 38, „ 16a). A. X. 198. Saddhamma &c.

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* See p. 114, note 1. † Velāma.

‡ In Chinese we have the following eleven antitheses: 非法正法 (adhamma-saddhamma), 非律正律 (?), 非聖法聖法 (ariyadh.-anariyadh.), 不善善 (kusala-akusala), 非親近親近 (na-āsevitabba-āsevitabba), 非善故善故 (asādhu-sādhu), 黑白 (kaṇha-sukka), 非義正義 (anattha-attha), 卑法勝法 (?), 有罪無罪 (pāpa-apāpa), and 棄法不棄法 (sāvajja-anavajja ?).

[第七篇 頌偈品]

(VII. Sagātha-vagga).

[第一 比丘品] (1. Bhikkhu-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV, 16b-18; *B* 辰 V. 1-4a).

1. 善生 (*A* 38. 1; *B* 1. 1). S. 21. 5. Sujāta.
2. 惡色 (Dubbaṇṇa) („ 2; „ 2). S. 21. 6. Bhaddhi.
3. 提婆 (Devadatta) („ 3; „ 3).
   S. 17. 35-36. Rathapakkanta (送車).
4. 象首 (Hatthaka)* (*A* 38. 4; *B* 1. 4). ?
5. 難陀 („ 5; „ 5). S. 21. 8. Nanda.
6. „ † (*A* 11. 3; „ 6). ?
7. 窒師 (*A* 38. 7; „ 7). S. 21. 9. Tissa.
8. 般闍羅 (Pañcāla) („ 8; „ 8).
   S. 21. 7. Visākha (毘舍佉).‡
9. 年少 (*A* 38. 9; *B* 1. 9). S. 21. 4. Nava.
10. 長老 (Thera) („ 10; „ 10).
    S. 21. 10. Theranāma.
11. 僧鉗 (Saṅgam) („ 11; *B* 1. 11).
    Udāna I. 8. Saṅgāmaji.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 19-23 b; *B* 辰 V. 4-8a).

12. 阿難 (Ānanda) (*A* 38. 12; *B* 1. 12).
    A. III. 79. Gandha (香).
13. 結髮 (Jaṭila) („ 13; „ 13). Vinaya, M. I. 22.

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* Buddha tells the fate of Hatthaka, the Sakka, who has performed many vicious acts. The sutta concludes with the verses, *Lobho doso ca moho ca* (S. 3. 1. 2.) and *Tasinā lobham ca dosañ ca* (A. III. 33).

† Nanda (or Nandaka) is praised as a man of great power in cencentrating his mind and guarding himself against the agitations of the senses. ‡ A. IV. 48.

14.	陀驃 (Dabba)	(*A* 38. 14; *B* 1. 14).	Vinaya, C. IV. 4. 4.
15.	„	(„ 15; „ 15).	Udāna VIII. 10.
16.	賊 (Cora)	(„ 16; „ 16).	M. 86. Aṅgulimāla (鴦掘魔羅).
17.	散倒吒*	(„ 17; *B* 1. 17).	S. 1. 2. 10. Samiddhi.
18.	秡殄†	(„ 18; „ 18).	?
19.	慙愧根‡	(„ 19; „ 19).	?
20.	苦子	(*A* 39. 1; „ 20).	A. III. 126. Kaṭuviya.
21.	覆瘡§	(„ 2; „ 21).	?
22.	食藕根 (Bhisamulāla)‖	(„ 3; „ 22).	S. 20. 9. Nāga (象).

第二 [魔品] (2. Māra-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 23b-26b; *B* 辰 V. 8-11a).

1.	長壽	(*A* 39. 4; *B* 2. 1).	S. 4. 1. 9. Āyu.
2.	河帝 (Nadī)	(„ 5; „ 2).	S. 4. 1. 10. „
3.	羂機 (Pāsa)	(„ 6; „ 3).	S. 4. 2. 5. Mānasa (心).
4.	睡眠	(„ 7; „ [illegible]).	S. 4. 1. 7. Suppati.
5.	經行 (Caraka)	(„ 8; „ 5).	S. 4. 2. 1. Pāsāṇa (大石).
6.	大毒蛇	(„ 9; „ 6).	S. 4. 1. 6. Sappa.
7.	無所爲 (Matta)	(„ 10; „ 7).	S. 4. 2. 3. Sakalika (刺).
8.	求德	(„ 11; *B* 2. 8).	S. 4. 3. 3. Godhika.
9.	魔女	(„ 12; „ 9).	S. 4. 3. 4-5. Dhitaro.
10.	好惡 (Subhāsubha)	(„ 13; „ 10).	S. 4. 1. 3. Subha.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 27-29a; missing in *B*).

11.	[苦行]	(*A* 39. 14; 辰 IV. 27a).	S. 4. 1. 1. Tapo.
12.	[乞食]	(„ 15; „ „).	S. 4. 2. 8. Piṇḍa.

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* Sandiṭṭhika? The name Samiddhi is not given.

† The title means "digging out;" a curious story of digging out of the earth tortoises serpents &c.

‡ "Ashamed of immodesty." § "Ulceration."

‖ With verses which are not found in Pāli.

13. [繩索] (*A* 39. 16; 辰 IV. 27a). S. 4. 1. 4-5. Pāsa.
14. [自應] („ 17; „ 27b). S. 4. 2. 4. Patirūpa.
15. [作王] („ 18; „ „). S. 4. 2. 10. Rajja.
16. [衆多] („ 19; „ 28a). S. 4. 3. 1. Sambahulā.
17. [善覺] („ 20; „ 28a). S. 4. 3. 2. Samiddhi.
18. [師子] („ 21; „ 28b). S. 4. 2. 2. Sīha.
19. [鉢] („ 22; „ „). S. 4. 2. 6. Patta.
20. [入處] („ 23; „ 29a). S. 4. 2. 7. Āyatana.

第三 [帝釋品] (3. Sakka-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 29a-32b; *B* 辰 V. 11-14).

1. 帝釋 (Sakka) (*A* 40. 1; *B* 2. 11). S. 11. 2. 1. Devā (天).
2. 摩訶離 (Mahāli) („ 2; „ 12). S. 11. 2. 3. „
3. 以何因 (Kaṃhā) („ 3; „ 13). S. 11. 2. 2. „
4. 夜叉 (Yakkha) („ 4; „ 14).
   S. 11. 3. 2. Dubbaṇṇiya (惡色).
5. 得眼 (?) („ 5; *B* 2. 15).
   S. 11. 3. 4-5. Akodhana (不怒).
6. 得善勝 („ 6; *B* 2. 16).
   S. 11. 1. 5. Subhāsita-jaya.
7. 縛繫 (Bandhana) („ 7; *B* 2. 17).
   S. 11. 1. 4. Vepacitti (毘摩質多羅).
8. 敬佛 (*A* 40. 8; *B* 2. 18).
   (Buddha-namassana) S. 11. 2. 9. Sakka-namassana.
9. 敬法 (Dhamma-n.) (*A* 40. 9; *B* 2. 19). S. 11. 2. 8. Sakka-n.
10. 禮僧 (Saṅgha-n.) (*A* 40. 10 *B* 2. 20). S. 11. 2. 10. Sakka-n.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 32b-35b, 66a; *B* 辰 V. 14b-18a).

11. 須毘羅 (*A* 40. 11; *B* 3. 1). S. 11. 1. 1. Suvīra.
12. 仙人 („ 12; „ 2). S. 11. 1. 10 9. Isayo.

13. 滅瞋 (Kodham chetvā) (*A* 40. 13; *B* 3. 3). S. 11. 3. 1. Chetvā.
14. 月八日 (Atthamī) („ 14; „ 4). A. III. 37. Devadūta (天使).
15. 病 (Abādhika) (*A* 40 15; „ 5). S. 11. 3. 3. Māyā.
16. 持一戒 (Sīla) („ 17; „ 6). S. 11. 1. 7. Na dubbhiyam.
17. 婆黎 („ 16; *B* 3. 8). S. 11. 1. 8. Verocana.
18. 鳥巢 (*A* 46. 1; „ 7). ?
19. 貧人 („ 2; „ 9). S. 11. 2. 4. Dalidda.
20. 大祠 („ 3; „ 10). S. 11. 2. 6. Yajamāna.

第四 [拘薩羅品] (4. Kosala-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 67a-70a; *B* 辰 V 18a-21a).

1. 三菩提 (Sambodhi) (*A* 46. 4; *B* 3. 11). S. 3. 1. 1. Dahara (幼小).
2. 母 (*A* 46. 5; *B* 3. 12). S. 3. 3. 2. Ayyakā.
3. 愛己 („ 6; „ 13). S. 3. 1. 4. Piya.
4. 護己 („ 7; „ 14). S. 3. 1. 5. Attānarakkhita.
5. 鹿窣 (Migakūta) (*A*. 46. 8; „ 16). S. 3. 1. 6. Appakā (少有).
6. 捕魚 (Maccha) (*A* 46. 9; *B* 3. 15). S. 3. 1. 7. Atthakaraṇa (思惟).
7. 慳 (Macchera) (*A* 46. 10; *B* 3. 17). S. 3. 2. 9. Aputtaka (無子).
8. 命終 (Kālakata) („ 11; *B* 3. 18). S. 3. 2. 10. „
9. 祠祀 („ 12; „ 19). S. 3. 1. 9. Yaññā.
19. 繫縛 („ 13; „ 20). S. 3. 1. 10. Bandhana.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 70a-71a, 41-43a; *B* 辰 V 21b-25a).

11. 得勝 (Jaya) (*A* 46. 14; *B* 4. 1).
S. 3. 2. 4. Sangāma (交陣).
12. 毀壞 (Vilutta) („ 15; *B* 4. 2). S. 3. 2. 5. Sangāma.
13. 從佛教 („ 16; *B* 4. 3).
(Upanissāya) S. 3. 2. 8. Appamāda (不放逸)
14. 一法 („ 17; „ 4). S. 3. 2. 7. Appamāda.
(Ekadhamma)
15. 福田 („ 18; „ 5). S. 3. 1. 3. Rājā (王).
(Puññakkhetta)
16. 可厭患 (?) (*A* 42. 1; „ 6). S. 3. 3. 4. Issatta (?).
17. 明闇 (Joti-tamo) („ 2; „ 7).
S. 3. 3. 1. Puggala (人).
18. 石山 („ 3; „ 8).
S. 3. 3. 5. Pabbatūpama.
19. 著一衣 („ 4; „ 9).
(Ekasātaka) S. 3. 2. 1. Jaṭila (長髮).
20. 諸王 (*A* 42. 5; *B* 4. 10). S. 3. 2. 2. Panca-rājāno.
21. 喘息 („ 6; „ 11). S. 3. 2. 3. Doṇapāka.

第五 [瀦羅門品] (5. Brāhmaṇa-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 43a-45b; *B* 辰 V. 25-27b).

1. 阿修羅塹 (*A* 42. 7; *B* 4. 12). S. 7. 1. 3. Asurinda.
2. 卑嶷 (Pingi)* („ 8; „ 13).
S. 7. 1. 2. Akkosa (瞋罵).
3. 瞋罵 („ 9; „ 14). S. 7. 1. 2. Akkosa.

* Piṅgi stands for Akkosaka in Pāli; in *A* his name is Piṅgika (實喜迦).

4. 瞋罵 (*A* 42. 10; *B* 4. 15). S. 7. 1. 4. Bilaṅgika.
5. 返戾 („ 11; „ 16). S. 7. 2. 6. Paccanika.
6. 無害 („ 12; „ 17). S. 7. 1. 5. Ahiṃsaka.
7. 羅閦 (Bhāradvāja) (*A* 42. 13; „ 18).
S. 7. 2. 2. Udaya (與?).
8. 婆私吒 (Vāsettha) (*A* 42. 14; *B* 4. 19).
S. 7. 1. 1. Dhanañjani.
9. 摩佉 (*A* 42. 15; *B* 4. 20). S. Nip. 31. Māgha.
10. 剎利 (Khattiya) („ 16; *B* 4. 21).
S. 7. 1. 7. Suddhika (清淨).

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 長 IV. 45b-46a, 長 II. 18b-19b; *B* 長 V. 27b-29b).

11. [火] (*A* 42. 17; *B* 5. 1). S. 7. 1. 8. Aggika.
12. * („ 18; „ 2). ?
13. [人生] („ 19; „ 3). A. III. 51. Janā.
14. „ (wanting; „ 4). A. III. 52. „
15. [?]† (*A* 4. 1; „ 5).
S. 7. 2. 9. Mātuposaka (敬母).
16. [優波迦] (Upaka). (*A* 4. 2; *B* 5. 6). A. IV. 39. Ujjaya (?).
17. [„] („ 3; „ 7). „ 40. Udāyi (?).
18. [鬱閦迦] („ 4; „ 8). A. VIII. 55. Ujjaya.

[第三部] (Tatiya-vagga).

(*A* 長 II 19b-24a; *B* 長 V. 83-87a).

19. [憍慢] (*A* 4. 5; *B* 5. 18).
S. 7. 2. 5. Mānatthadda.
20. [火] („ 6; „ 19). A. VII. 44. Aggi.

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* A discourse to Ānanda on an old couple who have no consolation in old age, having done nothing good before. Buddha utters the verse of Dhap. 155.

† Udu or Ujja (烏答) in *A* and Uttara (鬱多羅) in *B*.

21. [僧迦羅]* (*A* 4. 7; *B* 5. 20). ?
22. [生聞]† („ 8; „ 21). A. III. 57. Vacchagotta.
23. [婆羅門] („ 9; „ 22). S. 7. 2. 4. Mahāsāla.
24. [乞食] („ 10; „ 23). S. 7. 2. 10. Bhikkhaka.
25. [耕田] („ 11; „ 24). S. 7. 2. 1. Kasi.
26. [梵天] („ 12; „ 25). S. 6. 1. 3. Brahmadeva.
27. [佛陀] (Buddha)‡ („ 13; „ 26). ?
28. [人間] („ 14; „ 27). A. IV. 36. Loke.
29. [旃陀羅] (Caṇḍāla) („ 15; „ 28). S. Nip. 7. Vasala.

[第四部] (Catuṭṭha-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 52a-55b; *B* 辰 V. 29b-33b).

30. 婆私吒 (*A* 44. 1; *B* 5. 9).
Theragāthā, 133 f. Vāseṭṭha.
31. 失牛 („ 2; „ 10).
(Balivaddā naṭṭhā) S. 7. 1. 10. Bahudhīti (?).
32. 搆巢處§ („ 3; „ 11). ?
33. 天敬 („ 4; „ 12). S. 7. 2. 3. Devahita.
34. 娑羅林 („ 5; „ 13).
(Sālavane) S. 7. 2. 7. Navakammika (?)
35. 聚薪 („ 6; „ 14). S. 7. 2. 8. Kaṭṭhahāra.
36. 孫陀利 („ 7; „ 16). S. 7. 1. 9. Sundarika.

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* Saṅgāra? A Mānava Saṅgāra asks Buddha to explain good and bad kinds of men. These are compared with the moon and the description is put again into verse, as in A. V. 31. (See p. 53, No. 148).

† Jāṇussoṇi, instead of Vacchagotta. The text agrees well with Pāli.

‡ A Brāhmaṇa asks Buddha whether the title Buddha was given to him by his parents. Buddha answers, in verse, that he knows everything, has gone through all stages of enlightenment and wisdom, and, therefore, is called the *sammāsambuddha*.

§ The title means *santhāgāra*. Buddha once entered into the meeting hall of the village of Sālā. The Brāhmanas assembled there express their contempt for Buddha, as being a mere *muṇḍaka*. He explains the true meaning of a *paṇḍita*, with the verse *nābhāsamānam* etc. (A. IV. 48).

37.	孫陀利 (Sundarika)	(*A* 44. 8; *B* 5. 15).	M. 7. Vatthūpama.
38-39.	髻髮	(„ 9-10; „ 17).	S. 7. 1. 6. Jaṭā.

[第六 梵天品] (6. Brahma-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 IV. 55b-59a; *B* 辰 V. 34-37b).

1.	[尊重]	(*A* 44. 11; *B* 6. 1).	S. 6. 1. 2. Gārava.
2.	[梵天]	(„ 12; „ 2).	S. 47. 18. Brahmā.
3.	[梵主]	(„ 13; „ 3).	S. 6. 2. 1. Sanaṅkumāra.
4.	[空閑處]	(„ 14; „ 4).	S. 6. 2. 3. Andhakavinde.
5.	[集會]	(„ 15; „ 5).	S. 1. 4. 7. Samaya.
6.	[瞿迦黎]	(„ 16; „ 6).	S. 6. 1. 7-9. Kokalika.
7.	[?]	(„ 17; „ 7).	S. 6. 1. 6. Pamāda.
8.	[婆迦梵]	(„ 18; „ 8).	S. 6. 1. 4. Bako Brahmā.
9.	[邪見]	(„ 19; „ 9).	S. 6. 1. 5. Aparā diṭṭhi.
10.	[入滅]	(„ 20; „ 10).	S. 6. 2. 5. Parinibbāna.

[第七 比丘尼品] (7. Bhikkhuṇī-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 IV. 59b-62b; *B* 辰 V. 73-75b).

1.	曠野	(*A* 45. 1; *B* 6. 11).	S. 5. 1. Ālavikā.
2.	素彌 (Somi)	(„ 2; „ 12).	S. 5. 2. Somā.
3.	瞿曇彌	(„ 3; „ 13).	S. 5. 3. Gotamī.
4.	蓮華	(„ 4; „ 14).	S. 5. 5. Uppalavaṇṇā.
5.	石室	(„ 5; „ 15).	S. 5. 10. Vajirā.
6.	鼻黎 (Vīri)*	(„ 6; „ 16).	S. 5. 9. Selā.
7.	毘闍	(„ 7; „ 17).	S. 5. 4. Vijayā.
8.	折羅	(„ 8; „ 18).	S. 5. 6. Cālā.
9.	優波折羅	(„ 9; „ 19).	S. 5. 7. Upacālā.
10.	動頭	(„ 10; „ 20).	S. 5. 8. Sīsupacālā.

* 毘羅 (Vīrā) in *A* and in the uddāna of *B*.

[第八 婆耆娑品] (8. Vaṅgīsa-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 62b-64b; *B* 辰 V. 75b-77a, 81b).

1.	[揭伽池]	(*A* 45. 11; *B* 7. 1).	S. 8. 11. Gaggarā.
2.	憍陳如	(„ 12; „ 2).	S. 8. 9. Koṇḍañña.
3.	舍利佛	(„ 13; „ 3).	S. 8. 6. Sāriputta.
4.	龍脊 (Nāga-passe)	(„ 14; „ 4).	S. 8. 10. Moggallāna (目揵連)
5.	自恣	(„ 15; „ 5).	S. 8. 7. Pavāraṇā.
6.	不樂	(„ 16; „ 6).	S. 8. 2. Arati.
7.	欲結 (Kāmarāga)	(„ 17; „ 7).	S. 8. 4. Ānanda (阿難陀)
8.	出離	(„ 18; „ 8).	S. 8. 1. Nikkhanta.
9.	憍慢 (Māna)	(„ 19; „ 9).	S. 8. 3. Pesalātimaññanā (謙順柔輭)

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 62b-65, 1-2a; *B* 辰 V. 81b-83a).

10.	本如醉酒 (Pubbe kāveyyamatto)	(*A* 45. 20; *B* 7. 10).	S. 8. 12. Vaṅgīsa (婆耆娑)
11.	四句讚	(„ 21; „ 11).	S. 8. 5. Subhāsitā.
12.	龍脊 (Nāgapasse)	(„ 22; wanting).	S. 8. 8. Parosahassa (千眷屬)
13.	拔毒箭*	(„ 23; *B* 7. 12).	?
14.	尼瞿陀刼賓 (Nigrodhakappina)	(„ 24; „ 13).	S. Nip. 24. Vaṅgīsa.
15.	讚大聲聞†	(*A* 36. 1; „ 14).	?

* "One who takes out the poisonous arrow." Comparison of Buddha to a great physician who knows thoroughly the conditions of illness and how to take out the poisonous arrow or to cure any wound.

† "The praise of the great Sāvakas," sung by Vangīsa.

16. 婆耆娑滅盡* (*A* 36. 2; *B*.7. 15). ?

[第九 天女品] (9. Devatā-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 2-4b; *B*. 辰 V. 47b-50a).

1. 阿練 (*A* 36. 3; *B*. 8. 1). S. 1. 1. 10. Araññe.
2. 憍慢 („ 4; „ 2). S. 1. 1. 9. Mānakāma.
3. 修福增 („ 5; „ 3). S. 1. 5. 7. Vanaropa (園林).
   (Puññam pavaḍḍhati)
4. 云何大得 („ 6; „ 4). S. 1. 5. 2. Kiṃdada.
5. 生歡喜 („ 7; „ 5). S. 2. 3. 3. Serī.†
   (Abhinandati)
6. 遠去 („ 8; „ 6).
   (Pathavata) S. 1. 6. 3. Mitta. (可親者).
7. 强親迫 („ 9; „ 7). S. 1. 1. 3. Upaneyya.
8. 日夜有損減 (wanting; „ 8).
   (?) S. 1. 1. 4. Accenti (不暫停).
9. 思惟 (*A* 36. 10; „ 9).
   (Cinta ?) S. 1. 1. 5. Kati chinde (捨何法).
10. 睡寤 („ 11; „ 10). S. 1. 1. 6. Jāgara. (寤).
    (Sutta-jāgara).

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 4b-6b; 辰 V. 50a, 77-79a).

11. [生歡喜] (*A* 36. 12; *B* 8. 11). S. 1. 2. 2. Nandati.
12. [義利] („ 13; „ 12). S. 1. 6. 4. Vatthu.
13. [所愛無過子] („ 14; „ 13).
    S. 1. 2. 3. Natthi puttasamam.

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* "Parinibbāna of Vangīsa." Buddha visits Vangīsa at his bed-side. Vangīsa, who is on the point of dying, utters his confession and his gratitude towards the Master in a long series of verses. Comp. Mahāvastu, Vol. I. p. 165.

† *A* gives the name *Sveri* (悉利離); *B* 遲緩, *i.e.* the Slow.

14.	[剎利]	(*A* 36. 15; *B* 8. 14).	S. 1. 2. 4. Khattiya.
15.	[種子]	(„ 16; „ 15).	S. 1. 8. 4. Vuṭṭhi.
16.	[世間]	(„ 16; „ 16).	S. 1. 7. 10. Loka.
17.	[意]	(„ 17; „ 17).	S. 1. 7. 2. Citta.
18.	[縛]	(„ 18; „ 18).	S. 1. 7. 4. Saṃyojana.
19.	[覆]	(„ 19; „ 19).	S. 1. 7. 8. Pihita.
20.	[無明]*	(„ 20; „ 20).	?

[第三部] (Tatiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 6b-8; *B* 辰 V. 7 9a-81).

21.	信 (Saddhā)	(*A* 36. 21; *B* 8. 21).	S. 1. 8. 3. Vitta (財).
22.	第二	(„ 22; „ 22).	S. 1. 6. 9. Dutiya.
23.	持戒至老 (Sīlam yāva jarā)	(„ 23; „ 23).	S. 1. 6. 1. Jarā (老).
24.	生世間	(„ 24; „ 24).	S. 1. 6. 6. Janaṃ.
25.	„	(„ 25; „ 25).	S. 1. 6. 5. „
26.	„	(„ 26; „ 26).	S. 1. 6. 7. „
27.	非道	(„ 27; „ 27).	S. 1. 6. 8. Uppatho.
28.	最上勝 (Addhabhavi).	(„ 28; „ 28).	S. 1. 7. 1. Nāma (名).
29.	偈者何者初 (Nidānam gāthānaṃ)	(„ 29; „ 29).	S. 1. 6. 10. Kavi (文章).
30.	別車 (Rathassa paññānaṃ)	(„ 30; „ 30).	S. 1. 8. 2. Ratha (車).

[第四部] (Catuttha-vagga).

(*A* 辰 III. 23-25b; *B* 辰 V. 55b-58a).

31.	[歡喜園]	(*A* 22. 1; *B* 9. 1).	S. 1. 2. 1. Nandana.
32.	[?]	(„ 2; „ 2).	S. 10. 2. Sakka.
33.	[慚愧]	(„ 3; „ 3).	S. 1. 2. 8. Hirī.

* On *avijjā* and *vijjā*, something like S. 1.7.6.

34.	[不善知]	(*A* 22. 4; *B* 9. 4).	S. 1. 1. 7. Appatividità.
35.	[善調]	(„ 5; „ 5).	S. 1. 1. 8. Susammuṭṭhā.
36.	[羅漢]	(„ 6-7; „ 6).	S. 1. 3. 5. Araham.*
37.	[月天子]	(„ 8; „ 7).	S. 2. 1. 9. Candimā.
38.	[手杻]	(„ 9; „ 8).	S. 1. 2. 9. Kuṭikā.
39.	[?]	(„ 10; „ 9).	S. 2. 2. 8. Kakudha.

[第五部] (Pañcama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 III. 25b-26a, 29b-30, 辰 IV. 78; *B* 辰 V. 58-60).

40.	牟鋏†	(*A* 辰 11; *B* 9. 10).	S. 1. 3. 1. Sattiyā.
41.	天女	(„ 12; „ 11).	S. 1. 5. 6. Accharā.
42.	四轉輪‡	(„ 13; „ 12).	S. 1. 3. 9. Catucakka.
43.	髻髮	(„ 24; „ 13).	S. 1. 3. 3. Jaṭā.
44.	極難盡	(„ 25; „ 14).	S. 1. 2. 7. Dukkharam.
45.	睡厭	(„ 23; „ 15).	S. 1. 2. 6. Niddā tandi.
46.	[池水]	(„ 26; „ 16).	S. 1. 3. 7. Sarā.
47.	伊尼延	(„ 27; „ 17).	S. 1. 3. 10. Enijaṅgha.
48a.	[流] (Ogha)	(„ 28; wanting).	S. 10. 12. (11-12)
48b.	[流] (Ogha)	(*A* 48. 3; *B* 9. 18).	S. 2. 2. 5.
49.	解脫	(„ 2; „ 19).	S. 1. 1. 2. Nimokkha.
50.	濟度 (Atari)	(„ 1; „ 20).	S. 1. 1. 1. Ogha (駛流).

(第六部) (Chaṭṭha-vagga).

(*A* 辰 III. 29, 26-29; *B* 辰 V. 60b-61a).

51.	常驚 (Niccam utrastam)	(*A* 22. 21; *B* 9. 21).	S. 2. 2. 7. Subrahmā (?).

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* *A* 22. 7 and *B* 9. 6 correspond to the part of S. 1. 3. 5, which Léon Feer considers to be an interpolation in his SS. MS.

† These two signs correspond to the word *sattiyā*, but I cannot make out what it means. *A* renders the word by "sharp sword" (利劍).

‡ *B* has 鋼 (*lohena*) instead of 貪欲 (*lobhena*) of *A*.

52.	顏色	(*A* 22. 22; *B* 9. 22).	?
53.	羅吒國 (Raṭṭhavanta)	(*A* 22. 14; „ 23). S. 1. 3. 8. Mahaddhana. (財富).	
54.	佑客	(„ 15; „ 24).	?
55.	輸波羅	(„ 16; „ 25).	?
56.	須達	(„ 17; „ 26).	S. 10. 8. Sudatta.
57.	須達生天 (Sudatto saggajāto)*	(„ 18; „ 27). S. 2. 2. 10. Anāthapiṇḍika.	
58.	首長者生天†	(„ 19; „ 28). A. III. 125. Hatthaka.	
59.	無煩天 (Aviha)	(„ 20; „ 29). S. 2. 3. 4. Ghaṭikara (?)	

[第七部] (Sattama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 78b-82a; *B* 辰 V. 87-89b).

60.‡		(*A* 48. 4; *B* 10. 1).	?
61.		(„ 5; „ 2).	?
62.		(„ 6; wantnig).	?
63.	[波純提女]	(„ 7; *B* 10. 3). S. 1. 4. 10. Pajjunna-dhītā.	
64.	„	(„ 8; „ 4).	S. 1. 4. 9. „
65.	[觸]	(„ 9; „ 5).	S. 1. 3. 2. Phussati.
66.	[?]	(„ 10; „ 6).	S. 2. 3. 2. Khema.
67.	[嫌貢?]	(„ 11; „ 7). S. 1. 4. 5. Ujjhānasaññino.	
68.	[瞿迦黎]§	(„ 12; „ 8).	S. Nip. 30. Kokāliya.
69.	[輕賤]	(„ 13; „ 9).	S. Nip. 6. Parābhava.

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* *B* narrates Sudatta's death, as told in Majjhima 143. Cf. *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, p. 203, Note 1.

† Hatthaka Āḷavika's birth in the heaven Appaṭivāno.

‡ Nos. 60-62 are almost nothing but duplicates of No. 63.

§ Cf. S. 6. 1. 9-10.

[第八部] (Aṭṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 82a-85a; *B* 辰 V. 89b-92b).

70.	乘下	(*A* 48. 14; *B* 10. 10).		?
71.	遮止	(„ 15; „ 11).	S. 1. 3. 4.	Mano-nivāraṇā.
72.	名稱 (Kitti)*	(„ 16; „ 12).		?
73.	枝能†	(„ 17; „ 13).	D. 31.	Siṅgālaka (?).
74.	彈琴 (Gandabba)	(„ 18; „ 14).	Jātaka, 243.	Guttila (蠱牛).‡
75.	棄捨	(„ 19; „ 15).	S. 1. 8. 1.	Chetvā.§
76.	種別 (?)	(„ 20; „ 16).	S. 1. 4. 4 and 6.	
77.	善丈夫‖	(„ 21; „ 17).	S. 1. 4. 1.	Sabbhi.
78.	慳貪	(„ 22; „ 18).	S. 1. 4. 2.	Macchari.
79.	八天 (Aṭṭha-devatā)	(„ 23; „ 19).	S. 1. 4. 8.	Sakalika (刺).

[第九部] (Navama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 85a-87a; *B* 辰 V. 92b-95a).

80.	大地 (Paṭhavī)	(*A* 48. 24; *B* 11. 1).	?
81.	火不燒 (Aggi na dahati)	(„ 25; „ 2).	?
82.	糧 (Pātheyya)	(„ 26; „ 3).	?
83.	所願 (Icchā?)	(*A* 49. 1; „ 4).	?
84.	甚能 (Issariya?)	(*A* 48. 27; „ 5).	?
85.	車乘 (Ratha)	(*A* 49. 2; „ 6).	?
86.	鋸陀女/	(„ 3; „ 7).	?

* Questions=S. 10. 12 v. 13.

† Verses instructing as to how to use the wealth accumulated by one's own efforts. Similar verses are found in the Chinese Dīrgha, attached to the last part of the Siṅgālaka.

‡ The last part where the angels speak.

§ The latter part of S. 1. 4. 6. is incorporated in this text in *B*.

‖ In *A* much abridged.

/ In *A* the name reads Suparatissā, daughter of the king of Kuruda (? 拘盧陀王女修波羅提沙), and in *B* Sutamissā, daughter of the king Koda (? 須多蜜者鋸陀女).

87. 算數 (Saṅkha) (*A* 49. 4; *B* 11. 8). ?
88. 何重 („ 5; „ 9). ?
89. 十善 („ 6; „ 10). ?

[第十 天子品] (X. Devaputta-saṃyutta)

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 87b-90; *B* 辰 V. 95a-97).

1. 因陀羅 (*A* 49. 7; *B* 11. 11). S. 10. 1. Indaka.
2. 斷一切結 (wanting; „ 12). S. 10. 2. Sakka (釋迦).
(Sabbaganthassa pahīno)
3. 說善稱 (*A* 49. 8; „ 13). ?
4. 尸毘 („ 9; „ 14). S. 2. 3. 1. Siva.
5. 月自在 („ 10; „ 15). S. 2. 2. 1. Candimasa.
6. 毗忸 („ 11; „ 16). S. 2. 2. 2. Veṇḍu.
7. 般闍羅揵特 („ 12; „ 17).
S. 2. 1. 7. Pañcālacaṇḍa.
8. 須深摩 („ 13; „ 18). S. 2. 3. 9. Susima.
9. 邊際 („ 14; „ 19).
(Lokass' anta) S. 2. 3. 6. Rohita (赤馬).
10. 外道諸見 („ 15; „ 20). S. 2. 3. 10. Nānātitthiyā.

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 90a- ; *B* 辰 V. 98-).

11. 摩佉 (*A* 49. 16; *B* 11. 21). S. 2. 1. 3. Māgha.
12. 照明 („ 17; „ 22). S. 2. 1. 4. Pajjota.
13. 曇摩* („ 18; „ 23). S. 2. 1. 5. Dāmali.
14. 所斷† („ 19; „ 24). S. 1. 1. 5. Kati Chinde.
15. 實智 („ 20; „ 25).
(Citta-vūpasama) S. 2. 1. 6. Kāmada (迦默).

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* Dāmani (陀摩尼) in *A* and Dāmasi (曇摩尸) in *B*.

† The questioner is a devaputta Tālakanda (? 多羅達陀).

16. 漩流 (?)* (*A* 49. 21; *B* 12. 26).* S. 10. 3. Suciloma.
17-18. 栴檀 („ 22-23; „ 27-28). S. 2. 2. 4-5. Candana.
19-20. 迦葉 („ 24-25; „ 29-30). S. 2. 1. 1-2. Kassappa.

[第十一 夜叉品] (11. Yakkha-Saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 IV. 92-97b; *B* 辰 V. 99b-104).

1. 瞿摩 (Goma?) (*A* 49. 26; *B* 12. 1). S. 10. 4. Maṇibhadda.
2. 白山 (Pāvā?) („ 27; „ 2). Udāna 1. 7. Pāvāyaṃ.
3. 賓伽羅 („ 28; „ 3). S. 10. 6. Piyaṅkara.
4. 富那婆藪 („ 29; „ 4). S. 10. 7. Punabbasu.
5. 曼尼遮羅† („ 30; „ 5). ?
6. 箭毛 („ 31; „ 6). S. 10. 3. Suciloma.
7. 受齋 (Uposatha) (*A* 50. 1; *B* 12. 7). S. 10. 5. Sūnu (?).
8. 曠野 („ 2; „ 8). S. 10. 12. Alavam.
9. 淨 („ 3; „ 10). S. 10. 9-10. Sukkā.
10. 雄 („ 4; „ 9). S. 10. 11. Vīrā.
11. 七岳雪山 („ 5; „ 11). S. Nip. 9. Hemavata.
12. 害及無害 („ 6; „ 12).
Udāna, 4. 4. Juṇha (燒煮).

[第十二 林品] (12. Vana-saṃyutta).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 97b-99b; *B* 辰 V. 108-109b).

1. 不樂 (Arati) (*A* 50. 7; *B* 20. 1). S. 9. 4. Cārika (遊行).
2. 睡眠 (Supati) („ 8; „ 2). S. 9. 2. Upaṭṭhāna (?).
3. 遠離 („ 9; „ 3). S. 9. 1. Viveka.
4. 倒淨 (不正) („ 10; „ 4). S. 9. 11. Ayoniso.
5. 安住 (Ṭhita) („ 11; „ 5).
S. 9. 12. Majjhantika (日中).
6. 閑利那‡ („ 12; „ 6). S. 9. 6. Anuruddha.

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* The questioner is a devaputta Kāma. Cf. below 11. 6=S. 10. 3.

† Maṇicara. A woman, intending to bring offerings to the Yakkha Maṇicara, offers them to Buddha. He instructs the woman in the merits of giving alms to the genuine ascetics.

‡ *A* reads Jālinī (閑隣尼) and *B* Jālinā as above given.

7. 闍習 (*A* 50. 13; *B* 20. 7). S. 9. 10. Sajjhāya
8. 花 („ 14; „ 8). S. 9. 14. Padumapuppha.
9. 迦葉 („ 15; „ 9). S. 9. 3. Kassappagotta.

[第二部] (2. Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 99b-101; *B* 辰 V. 109b-110).

10. [跋耆子] (*A* 50. 16; *B* 20. 10). S. 9. 9. Vajjiputta.
11. [?] („ 17; „ 11). S. 9. 5. Ānanda.
12. [龍與] („ 18; „ 12). S. 9. 7. Nāgadatta.
13. [衆多比丘] („ 19; „ 13). S. 9. 13. Sambahulā bhikkhū.
14. [嬉戲?] („ 20; „ 14). S. 9. 8. Ogaḷha.
15. [見多] („ 21; *B* wanting). ?
16. [睡眠] (Suppa) („ 22; „). ?
17. [味] (Rasa) („ 23; „). ?
18. [離林] (Vanā) („ 24; „). ?
19. [優樓鳥] (Ulūka) („ 25; „). ?
20. [波吒利] (Pāṭali) („ 26; „). ?

[第三部] (3. Tatiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 IV. 101b-103; wanting in *B*).

21. [孔雀] (Mora) (*A* 50. 27). ?
22. [那娑佉多] (?) („ 28). ?
23. [頻陀] (Vinjha) („ 29). ?
23. [恒河] (Gaṅgā) („ 30). ?
24. [瓜] ? („ 31). ?
25. [沙彌] (Samaṇera) („ 32). ?
26. [瓦師] („ 33). ?
27. [貧] (Dalidda) („ 34). ?
28. [刼貝] (Kambu) („ 35). ?
29. [鐶釧] (Jala) („ 36). ?
30. [彈琴] (Vīṇā?) („ 37). ?

31. [鴿鳥] (Kapoṭa)* (*A* 50. 38). ?

[第八 誦 佛品 (?)]

(VIII. Ajjhāya. Buddha or Tathāgata vagga).

[第一 迦葉品] (1. Kassappa-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 IV. 37b-40, 辰 III. 85b 86a; *B* 辰 V. 37b-42).

1. 月喻 (*A* 41. 54; *B* 13. 1). S. 16. 3. Candupama.
2. 施與 (Dāna) („ 55; „ 2).
   S. 16. 4. Kulupaga (詣於檀越家).
3. 負勝 („ 56; „ 3). S. 16. 6. Ovāda (教授).
   (Accayamā)
4. 無信 („ 57; „ 4). S. 16. 7. „
   (Saddhā natthi)
5. 佛爲根本† („ 58; „ 5). S. 16. 8. „
6. 極老 („ 59; „ 6). S. 16. 5. Jiṇṇa.
7. „ („ 60; „ 7).
   S. 16. 9. Jhānābhiññā (禪定神通).
8. 此時 („ 61; *B* 14. 1). S. 16. 10. Upasayam.
9. 衆減少 („ 62; „ 2).
   (Hīnāyāvattā) S. 16. 11. Cīvara (法服).
10. 外道 (*A* 32. 1; „ 3). S. 16. 12. Paraṃ
    (Aññatitthiyā) maraṇaṃ (死後).
11. 法減損 („ 2; „ 4). S. 16. 13. Saddhamma-
    (Saddhammassa antaradhāna) paṭirūpaka (像法).

第二 [聚落主品] (2. Gāmani-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 III. 86a-60b; *B* 辰 V. 42b-47a).

1. 動搖 (Cāla) (*A* 32. 3; *B* 15. 1). S. 42. 2. Puṭa.‡
2. 爭鬪 („ 4; „ 2). S. 42. 3. Yodhājīva.

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* These suttas, Nos. 15-31, seem to be parodies of popular songs made for didactic purposes. Some of them are very interesting.

† Buddha-mūlakā?

‡ Pāli Tala (or Tāla) puṭa; *A* 遮羅周羅, *B* 動髮, i.e. *Cālacula*.

3.	調馬	(*A* 32. 5; *B* 15. 3).	S. 42. 5. Assa, or Haya.
4.	惡性	(„ 6; „ 4).	S. 42. 1. Caṇḍa.
5.	頂髮	(„ 7; „ 5).	S. 42. 10. Maṇicūḷaka.
6.	王髮	(„ 8; „ 6).	S. 42. 12. Rāsiya.
7.	龍姓	(„ 9; „ 7).	S. 42. 11. Bhadraka.
8.	飢饉 (Dubbhikkha)	(„ 10; „ 8).	S. 42. 9. Kula (諸家).
9.	種田 (Khetta)	(„ 11; „ 9).	S. 42. 7. Desanā (說).
10.	說何論 (Kathaṃ dhammam)	(„ 12; „ 10).	S. 42. 8. Saṅkha. (筭數).*

[第三馬品] (3. Assa-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 III. 90b-93; *B* 辰 V. 50-52b).

1.	惡馬†	(*A* 32. 13; *B* 16. 1).	A. III. 137. Assakhaluṅka.
2.	順調馬† (Assasadassa)	(„ 14; „ 2).	A. III. 138. Assakhaluṅka.
3.	賢乘† (Bhadda-assajāniya)	(*A* 33, 1; „ 3).	A. III. 139. Assakhaluṅka.
4.	三	(„ 2; „ 4).	A. III. 94. Tayo.
5.	四 (Cattāro)	(„ 3; „ 5).	A. IV. 256-257. Ājañña.
6.	鞭影 (Patodacchāyā)	(„ 4; „ 6).	A. IV. 113. Patoda (鞭).
7.	乘調 (Assadamma)	(„ 5; wanting).	A. IV. 111. Kesi (只尸).
8.	有過 (Dosa)	(„ 6; *B* 19. 7).	A. VIII. 14. Khaluṅka.
9.	八種 (Aṭṭha)	(„ 7; „ 8).	A. VIII. 13. Ājañña.
10.	迦旃延 (Kaccāna)‡	(„ 8; „ 9).	A. XI. 9. Sekkha (修有).

* This simile is wanting in Chinese and instead of it is the simile of *nakhasikha*.

† Comp. A. IX. 22.

‡ *A* gives the name Sandha Kaccāna (訖陀迦旃延) and *B* mistakes it for Mahā-Kaccāna

[第四 摩訶南品] (4. Mahānāma-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 III. 94-97a; *B* 辰 V. 52b-55).

1.	優波塞 (Upāsaka)	(*A* 33. 9; *B* 16. 10).	S. 55. 37.	Mahānāma.
2.	得果	(„ 10; „ 11).		?
3.	一切行*	(„ 11; „ 12).	A. VIII. 25.	Mahānāma.
4.	自輕 (?)	(„ 12; „ 13).	S. 55. 21.	„
5.	住處 (Vihārena)	(„ 13; „ 14).	A. VI. 10.	„ †
6.	十一 (Ekādasa)	(„ 14; „ 15).	A. XI. 12.	„
7.	十二 (Dvādasa)	(„ 15; wanting).	A. XI. 13.	„
8.	解脫 ‡	(„ 16; *B* 16. 16).	A. III. 73.	Sakka. (釋).
9.	舍羅 §	(„ 17; „ 17).	S. 55. 23.	Godha.
10.	麤手 ‖	(„ 18; „ 18).	S. 55. 24.	Sarakāni.

[第五 生死 or 無始品] (5. Anamata-saṃyutta).

(辰 III. 97-98b; 辰 V. 104b-106b).

[第一部] (1. Paṭhama-vagga).

1.	血 (Lohita)	(*A* 33. 19; *B* 17. 1).	S. 15. 13.	Tiṃsamattā (三十).
2.	淚	(„ 20; „ 2).	S. 15. 3.	Assu.
3.	母乳	(„ 21; „ 3).	S. 15. 4.	Khīra.
4.	土丸 (?)	(*A* 34. 1; *B* 17. 4).	S. 15. 1.	Tiṇakattha (草木).

* Only the last half agrees with A. VIII. 25.

† Partly=A. VIII. 11.

‡ Chinese versions read vimokkha (解脫 or 正受) instead of *ñāna* in Pāli.

§ In *B* the name *Sara* (?) is given in the uddāna, but 麤手 (rough hand) appears in the text; *A* has 沙陀 (Sāḷha or *sara?*). May 沙 be a mistake and 沙陀 be *Godha?*

‖ 麤手 (rough hand) in *B* and 百手 (hundred-handed) Sattahatthaka in *A*.

5.	如豆粒 (Kolaṭṭhimatta)	(*A* 34. 2; *B* 17. 5).	S. 15. 2. Pathavī (大地).
6.	[喜樂]	(„ 3; „ 6).	S. 15. 12. Sukhita.
7.	[苦惱]	(„ 4; „ 7).	S. 15. 11. Duggata.
8.	恐怖 (Bhayabherava)	(„ 5; „ 8).	?
9.	彼愛 (So satto sulabharūpo?)	(„ 6; „ 9).	S. 15. 14-19 Mātā &c. (父母等.)
10.	恒河	(„ 7; „ 10).	S. 15. 8. Gaṅgā.
11.	骨聚 (Aṭṭhikaṅkala)*	(„ 8; „ 11).	S. 15. 10 Puggala.

[第二部] (Dutiya-vagga).

(*A* 辰 III. 98b-100a; *B* 辰 V. 106b-108).

12.	城 (Nagara)	(*A* 34. 9; *B* 17. 12).	S. 15. 6. Sāsapa (芥子).
13.	山	(„ 10; „ 13).	S. 15. 5. Pabbata.
14.	過去 (Abbhatīta)	(„ 11; „ 14).	S. 15. 7. Sāvakā (弟子).
15.	無地方處†	(„ 12; „ 15).	?
16.	無不是‡	(„ 13; „ 16).	?
17.	麤雨滯雨§	(„ 14; „ 17).	?
18.	縛掃箒‖	(„ 15; „ 18).	?
19.	擲杖/	(„ 16; „ 19).	S. 15. 9. Daṇḍa.
20.	轉輪 (Cakka)	(„ 17; „ 20).	?
21.	毘富羅	(„ 18; „ 21).	S. 15. 20. Vepulla.

[第六婆蹉種品] (6. Vacchagotta-saṃyutta).

(*A* 辰 III. 100-103a; *B* 辰 V. 64-67).

1.	身命 (Kāya)	(*A* 34. 19; *B* 18. 1).	S. 44. 9. Kuṭūhasālā (?)

* Cf. p. 31.

† There is no spot where we were not once born.

‡ There is no being with whom we have never had some kind of relation.

§ The evanescence of our life is like that of rain-drops which soon disappear.

‖ Every part of the world will sometime be destroyed.

/ Transmigration compared with a wheel.

2.	目連 (Mogg)	(*A* 34. 20; *B* 18. 2).	S. 44. 8. Bandha.
3.	"	(" 21; " 3).	
4.	迦旃延 (Sandha-Kaccāna)	(" 21a; " 3a).	S. 44. 11. Sabhiya.
5.	未曾有 (Acchariya)	(" 22; " 4).	S. 33. 2-3. Aññāṇā.
6.	無我 (Anatta)	(" 23; " 5).	S. 44. 10. Attatha.
7.	見 (Diṭṭhi).	(" 24; " 6).	M. 72. Aggivacchagotta.
8.	愚痴 (?)	(" 25; " 7).	S. 33. 1. Aññāṇā.
9.	出家 (Pabbajjā ?)	(" 26; " 8).	M. 73. Mahā-Vacchagotta.

[第七外道品] (7. Paribbājaka-saṃyutta).

(*A* 長 III. 103-108b; *B* 長 V. 68-73a).

1.	優陟	(*A* 34. 27; *B* 19. 1).	A. X. 95. Uttiya.
2.	分匿 (Puṇṇa)	(" 28; " 2).	A. X. 83. Puṇṇiya.
3.	俱迦那	(" 29; " 3).	A. X. 96. Kokanuda.
4.	須達 (Sudatta)	(" 30; " 4).	A. X. 93. Diṭṭhi (見).
5.	長爪	(" 31; " 5).	M. 74. Dīghanakha.
6.	奢羅浮	(*A* 35. 1; " 6).	A. III. 64. Sarabha.
7.	重巢* (床?)	(" 2; " 7).	?
8.	三諦	(" 3; " 8).	A. IV. 185. Sacca.
9.	聞 (闡?) 陀	(" 4; " 9).	A. III. 71. Channa.
10-11.	不留得†	(" 5-6; " 10-11).	?

* An ascetic called "High-seated" (重床 in *B* and 上座 in *A*) resides on the bank of the lake Sumagadhā, near Rājagaha. He challenges Buddha to a discussion in verse.

† *B* gives the name of the ascetic in these two texts as Uttiya (優陟), but in uddāna it reads 不留得 (Puruto ?). In *A* both of these names are Purutika (? 補羅低迦).

12.	尸蘭 (Sivaka)	(*A* 34. 7; *B* 19. 12).	A. VI. 47. Sandiṭṭhika (學).
13.	„	(„ 8; „ 13).	S. 36. 21. Sivaka.
14.	那利婆羅*	(„ 9; „ 14).	A. IV. 3. Khata?
15.	須跋 (Subhadda)	(„ 10; „ 15).	D. Mahāparinibbāna V. 52-69.

* An ascetic called Nalibāla (? 那利婆羅 in *B*), or Leader (? 商主 in *A*), visits each of the six heretics and asks a question as to the fate of a relative of his who had recently died. None of them could answer him. He comes to Buddha, who instructs him by means of a sermon very similar to A. IV. 3.

VII. THE NUMERICAL COLLECTION.

As for the Numerical Collection, we have a Chinese version which differs from the Pāli tradition more than any of the other three collections. In some parts its style has the characteristics of the Mahāyānist texts. Even where the texts agree as a whole with the Pāli texts the differences of detail are very remarkable. There are strong reasons to believe that the version was made from a text handed down by a school which had a very different tradition from the Theravāda, possibly by one of the Mahāsaṅghika sections.

From an epilogue attached to the Madhyama-āgama (N. 452) and a prologue to the present version of the Ekottara-āgama we collect the following data as to the present text. It was in the summer of 384 that a certain Dharmanandin from Tukhara arrived at Chān-ān, the capital of the former Tsien kingdom (350-394). With the assistance of two Chinese monks he worked out the translations of the Ekottara-āgama, the Madhyama-āgama and some other Abhidharma texts, including the Abhidharma-hṛdaya of Saṅgharakṣa and the Abhidharmas of Vasumitra. Unfortunately the wars between the king of Tsien and his neighbors disturbed the translator's work and it became somewhat confused. Tāo-ān, the eminent scholar of that period, tried to reduce the translations to order; but, as is said by the writer of the epilogue to the Madhyama, the rearrangement was not satisfactory. Meanwhile Saṅghadeva, a monk from Kubhā, began a revision of the works at Loyāng, after about 388, and finished the Ekottara and some of the Abhidharma texts.*

* Saṅghadeva went later, after the fall of the Tsien kingdom, to the south, and finished there another translation of the Madhyama, conjointly with a certain Saṅgharakṣa from Kubhā, in 397-398. It is to be doubted whether or not the Madhyama was founded upon the earlier translation made by Dharmanandin. The difference of style in the Madhyama and the present Ekottara leads me to think that the former was a work quite independent of Dharmanandin's work

Our present version is the result of this revision, and it is ascribed to Saṅghadeva or to Dharmanandin.

This present version of the Ekottara is divided into fifty two sections (*vaggas*), and has no designation of the numerical divisions (*nipātas*) such as occur in the Pāli Aṅguttara. Al though in general these numerical divisions can be made, and although the whole collection is made to contain the eleven nipātas, as in the Pāli version, some of the single parts (*suttas*) have nevertheless very little to do with the numerical divisions. For example, the discourse in the Gosiṅga forest (Pāli Majjhima, No. 32) is incorporated in the sixth part, but the whole text has no connection with the number six. To take another example, the story of the robber Aṅgulimāla (Majjhima, No. 86) is likewise found in the sixth part, only because in one passage mention is made of the six kinds of an arhat's miraculous power, which, however, is not referred to in the Pāli version of the said story. Differences between the Pāli Aṅguttara and the Chinese Ekottara are more remarkable when the texts that agree in outline in the two versions are compared in detail. Nevertheless, with regard to these differences, many of the verses contained in the text agree with their Pāli counterparts, though cited in many cases in connexion with different stories or sermons. In general, I might say of the present text that it stands, in the history of the Buddhist texts, between the Pāli books and such texts as the Mahāvastu.

In the table given below the division into the vaggas is preserved and that into the numerical nipātas is added; whereas those suttas that are not yet identified are left out. The statements of the counterparts are meant only as agreements in general outline.

Table X. THE CHINESE EKOTTARA TEXTS AND THEIR PĀLI COUNTERPARTS.

[一法] (Eka-nipāta).

第二十念品 (2. Sati-vagga). A. I. 20. 93-102.

第四弟子品 (4. Sāvaka-vagga).

1-10. A. I. 14. 1-4.

第五比丘尼品 (5. Bhikkhunī-v.).

1-5. A. I. 14. 5.

第六清信士品 (6. Upāsaka-v.).

1-4. A. I. 14. 6.

第七清信女品 (7. Upāsikā-v.).

1-3. A. 1. 14. 7.

第八阿須倫品 (8. Asurinda-v.).

2. 益 (Atthāya). A. I. 13. 1.
4. 光明 (Obhāsa). A. I. 13. 6.
7. 沒 (Kālakiriya). A. I. 13. 4.
10. 無與等 (Appaṭipuggala). A. I. 13. 5.

第十二一入道品 (12. Ekamagga-v.).

1. 一道 (Ekamagga) M. 10. Satipaṭṭhāna (意止).

第十三利養品 (13. Lābha-v).

3. 竹膊 (Nāḷijaṅgha). M. 87. Piyajātika (愛生).
4. 皮 (*Skin*) S. 22. 1. Nakula (那憂羅).
5. 孫陀利 (Sundarika). M. 7. Vatthūpama (衣喻).
6. 善福 (Puñña). S. 11. 2. 6. Yajamānam.

第十五有無品 (15. Atthi-natthi-v.).

3-4. 施業 (Dāna, Kamma). A. II. 13. 1-2.

第十六 火滅品 (16. ?).

1. 難陀 (Nandaka). Cf. Theragāthā v. 279.
2. 涅槃 (Nibbāna). Itiv. 44.

[二法] (Duka-nipāta).

第十七 安般品 (17. Ānāpāna-v.).

1. 羅雲 (Rāhula) M. 62. Rāhulovāda.
2. Tathāgata and Cakkavatti. A. II. 6. 2.
11. Devadatta. Verses, A. IV. 70.

第十八 慚愧品 (18. Hirottapa-v.).

1. [慚愧] A. II. 1. 9. Hirottapa.
2. [厭足] A. II. 1. 1. Vajja.
3. [法施] M. 3. Dhammadāyāda.
5. 龍 (Nāga) Vinaya, Culla-v. VII. 3. 2.
6. 難陀 S. 21. 8. Nanda.

第十九 勸請品 (19. Āyacana-v.).

1. 梵請 S. 6. 1. 1. Brahma-āyacana.
2. 二事 (Ubho ante). S. 56. 11. Dhammacakka (§ 1-4).
3. 斷愛 M. 37. Taṇhāsaṅkhaya.
9. 迦旃延 (Kaccāna). A. II. 4. 7.
11. 女 (Ambāpali). Mahāparinibbāna, II. 12-25.

第廿 善知識品 (20. Kalyāṇamitta-v.).

3. [曇摩留支] (Dhammaruci?).*
11. [不可得報恩] A. II. 4. 2. Duppaṭikāra.

[三品] (Tika-nipāta).

第廿一 三寶品 (21. Triratana-v.).

1. 福 (Puñña?). A. IV. 34. Pasāda (安).

* The sutta contains the verses *Anekajātisaṃsāraṃ.*

2.	德業 (Atthacariya).	Verses of A. IV. 32.
3.	三因 (Paccāya).	M. 38. Taṅhāsaṅkhaya (p. 266).
4.	三安 (Pasāda).	A. III. 75. (§ 2).
5.	瞿波利 (Kopali).	S. 6. 1. 10. Kokali.
6.	三夜 (Ratti).	A. III. 16. Kataṃ.
8.	惡業 (Duccarita).	Itivuttaka, 64-65.
9.	苦陰	M. 13. Dukkhakkhandha.

第廿二 供養品 (22. Dakkhineya-v.).

6.	法 (Dhammā).	A. III. 2-9.
8.	愛敬 (Madā).	A. III. 39.

第廿三 地主品 (23. Adhipatteya-v.).

3.	耳	A. VI. 55. Soṇa.
4.	婆提 (Sāvatthi ?)	S. 3. 2. 10. Aputtaka (無有子息).
5.	逆順香	A. III. 79. Gandha.

第廿四 高幢品 (24. Dhajagga-v.).

1.	幢	S. 11. 1. 3. Dhajagga.
4.	默 (Mona ?).	S. 22 97. Nakhasikha (爪上土).
5.	神足化 (Iddhipāda).	Vinaya, Mahv. I. 6. 15-20 & 54.
6.	齋戒 (Uposatha).	A. III. 36. and 70.
8.	長壽 (Dighāyu).*	M. 48. Kosambiya (first part). M. 128. and Jātaka, 428.
10.	三昧 (Samādhi).	A. III. 163.

[四法] (Cattuka-nipāta).

第廿五 四諦品 (25. Sacca-v.).

1.	諦 (Sacca).	S. 56. 21. Vijjā.
3.	阿難 (Ānanda).	A. IV. 127. Abbhutadhamma.
4.	重擔	S. 22. 22. Bhāra.

* Compare Table VII. No. 72, p. 46.

6.	結	M. 5. Anaṅgana.
7.	四果	A. IV. 106. Ambāni.
10.	雷 (Gajjita).	A. IV. 102. Valāhaka (雲).

第廿六意斷品 (26. Padhāna-v,).

2-4.	意斷 (Padhāna).	S. 3. 2. 7. Appamāda (不放逸).
5.	四闇 (Tamo).*	S. 3. 3. 1. Puggalā (四種人).
6.	老耄 (Jarā).†	S. 3. 1. 3. Rājā (王).
7.	,, ,,	S. 3. 3. 2. Ayyakā (王母).
8.	法本末	A. IV. 185. Samaṇasacca.
10.	婆迦梨	S. 22. 87. Vakkali.

第廿七等趣四諦品 (27. Sacca-v.).

1.	[四諦]	M. 141. Saccavibhaṅga.
2.	[師子吼]	M. 11. Sihanāda.
3.	[毘羅摩]	A. IX. 20. Velāma.
6.	[無所畏]	A. IV. 8. Vesārajja.
7.	[第一]	A. IV. 7. Sobheti.

第廿八聲聞品 (28. Sāvaka-v.).

2.	翳	A. IV. 50. Upakkilesā.
3.	手	A. III. 34. Hatthi.
5.	廣演義	A. IV. 180. Mahāpadesana.
7.	柔軟 (Sukhamāla).	A. IV. 88. Saññojana (結).

第廿九苦樂品 (29. Dukkhasukha-v.).

6.	[不可思惟]	A. IV. 77. Acintita.
8.	[愛起法]	A. IV. 9. Taṅhuppāda.

第卅一增上品 (31. Aññatama-v.?).

1.	增上 (Aññatama ?)	M. 4. Bhayabherava (畏懼).

* Cf. A. IV. 85.

† With the verses of S. 48. 41.

6.	無漏 (Anāsava).	S. 35. 197. Āsīvisa (毒蛇).
8.	禪 (Jhāna).	M. 12. Sīhanāda (pp. 79 f.).
9.	四樂	S. 1. 2.

[五法] (Pañcaka-nipāta).

第卅二 善聚品 (32. Kusalarāsi-v.).

1.	善 (Kusala-rāsi).	A. V. 2.
2.	不善 (Akusalarāsi).	A. V. 52. Rāsi.
4.	天使	M. 130. Devadūta.
5.	歲	S. 8. 7. Pavāraṇā.
7.	文荼 (Muṇḍa).	A. V. 50. Nārada (那羅陀).
8.	觀 (?)	A. V. 124. Upaṭṭhāna (差).
9.	瞻病	A. V. 122. Gilāna.
10.	五施 (Pañcadāna).	A. V. 34. Sīha (師子).
11.	隨時 (Kāla).	A. V. 37. Bhojana.
12.	時施	A. V. 36. Kāla.

第卅三 五王品 (33. Pañcarājāna-v.).

1.	五王	S. 3. 2. 2. Pañcarājāno.
3-4.	鬪	A. V. 75-76. Yodhājīva.
7.	行 (Cārika).	A. V. 221. Dīghacārika (長遊行)
10.	枯樹 (Rukkhakkhandha).	A. VII. 68. Aggi (火).

第卅四 等見品 (34. Saṃmādiṭṭhi-v.?).

8.	[毘摩質多羅]	S. 11. 1. 4. Vepacitti.

第卅六 聽法品 (36. Dhammasavana-v.).

1.	[聽法]	A. V. 202. Dhammasavana.
3.	[揚枝]	A. V. 207. Yāgu.

[六法] (Chakka-nipāta).

第卅七六重品 (37. Cha-āhuneyya-v.).

1.	[重]	A. VI. 1. Āhuneyya.
2.	[阿耨達] (Anotatta).	Derived from S. 6. 2. 4. Aruṇavatī.*
3.	[牛師子園]	M. 32. Gosiṅga.
5.	[可敬]	A. VI. 2. Āhuneyya.
8.	[刹利種]	A. VI. 52. Khattiya.
9.	[婬]	A. VII. 47. Methunā.
10.	[薩遮]	M. 35. Saccaka.

第卅八力品 (38. Bala-v.).

1.	[力]	A. VIII. 27. Bala.
3.	?	A. IV. 36. (§ 1-2).
4.	[城]	S. 12. 65. Nagara.
6.	[鴦崛魔]†	M. 86. Aṅgulimāla.
7.	[仙人崛]	M. 116. Isigili.
8.	[六蟲]	S. 35. 206. Chapāna.

[七品] (Sattaka-nipāta).

第卅九等法品 (39. Dhamma-v.?).

1.	[知法]	A. VII. 64. Dhammaññū.
2.	[畫度樹]	A. VII. 65. Pāricchattaka.
3.	[水喻]	A. VII. 15. Udakūpama.
4.	[城]	A. VII. 63. Nagara.
7.	[轉輪王]	S. 46. 42. Cakkavatti.
10.	[七車]	M. 24. Rathavinīta.

* The derivation of this Ekottara text from the Saṃyutta text shows a very interesting phase in the development of the Buddhological ideas. See Shiwo's study regarding it in the *Shūkyō-kai*, 1905.

† With the nidāna of the king Mahāphala (大果). See Mahāvastu, Vol. I. 310.

第四十 七日品 (40. Sattasuriya-v.).

1. [七日]	A. VII. 62. Suriya (1-8) and D. 27. Aggañña (part).
2. [婆利迦]	A. VII. 20. Vassakara.
6. [諸漏法]	M. 2. Sabbāsava.
9. [美食]	M. 18. Madhupiṇḍika.

第四十一 莫畏品 (41. Abhaya or Mahābhayia-v.).

1. [摩訶男]*	S. 55. 21. Mahānāma.
3. [七處]	S. 22. 57. Sattaṭṭhāna.

[八法] (Aṭṭhaka-nipāta).

第四十二 八難品 (42. Aṭṭha-akkhaṇa-v.).

1. [非時]	A. VIII. 29. Akkhaṇa.
3. 道 (Magga ?).	Mahāparinibbāna. IV-V.†
4. 須倫天	A. VIII. 19. Asurinda.
5. 地動	A. VIII. 70. Bhūmicāla (10-19).
6. 大人八念 (Aṭṭha mahāpurisa-vitakke)	A. VIII. 30. Anuruddha (阿那律).
7. 衆	A. VIII. 69. Parisā.
9. 善男子	A. VIII. 37. Sappurisa.

第四十三 馬血品 (43. Rohitassa-v.)

1. 馬血	A. IV. 45. Rohitassa.
2. 齋 (Uposatha) ‡	A. VIII. 41. Saṃkhitta.
3. 難陀 (Nanda)	S. 35. 200. Dārukkhandha (材木).
4. 提婆 (Devadatta)	M. 29. Saropama (樹喻).
6. 牧牛	M. 34. Gopālaka.

* With an additional discourse on the Nigaṇṭha.

† A very different version, with an additional story of Buddha's throwing a huge rock. This story has a separate version, for which see Table II. (44) N. 623.

7. 無根信 (Amūlasaddlā ?) D. 2. Sāmaññaphala.
8. 世法 (Lokadhamma) A. VIII. 5. Lokaparivatta (世廻轉).

[九法] (Navakaa-nipāta).

第四十四 衆生居品 (44. Sattāvāsa-v.).

1. 九止 A. IX. 24. Sattāvāsa.
5. 繫縛 A. VIII. 17. Bandha.
8. 供養 A. IX. 10. Āhuneyya.
11. 若干想 (Nānāsaññī) A. I. 24. Satta (生),

第四十五 馬王品 (45. Assarāja-v. ?).

2. [?] M. 67. Cātumā.

[十法] (Dasaka-nipāta).

第四十六 結禁品 (46. Sīla-v. ?).

2. 聖賢居 A. X. 20. Ariyavāsa.
4. 力 (Bala) A. X. 21. Siha (師子).
5. 親國 A. X. 45. Pavesana.
7. 十論 (Bhāsita ?) A. X. 27. Mahāpañhā.
8. 想 A. X. 56-57. Saññā.

第四十七 善惡品 (47. Kusala-akusala-v.).

4. [論] A. X. 70. Kathāvatthu.

第四十八 不善品 (48. Akusala-v.).

4. [?] D. 14. Mahāpadāna.

[十一法] (Ekādasa-nipāta).

第四十九 牧牛品 (49. Gopālaka-v.).

1. [牧牛] { A. XI. 18. M. 33. } Gopālaka.

7. [跋提婆羅] { M. 65. Bhaddāli. M. 66. Laṭukikopama.
9. [提婆] (Devadatta) Vinaya, Cullav. VII. 3–4.
10. [慈心] A. XI. 16. Mettā.

第五十 禮三寶品 (50?).

4. [大天] M. 83. Makhad=va.
6. [?] M. 12. Sīhanāda.*
8. [鉄鉗] M. 21. Kakacūpama.

第五十一 非常品 (51. Anicca or Anamata-v.).

1. [淚] S. 15. 3. Assu.
2. [六十] S. 15. 13. Tiṃsamattā.
4. [結] M. 16. Cetokhila.
8. [阿那邠祁] M. 143 Anāthapiṇḍikovāda.
9. [婦] A. VII. 59. Sattabhariyā.

第五十二 大愛道涅槃品 (52. Mahāpajapatī-v.).

3. [芥子] S. 15. 6. Sāsapā.
4. [石山] S. 15. 5. Paṇbbata.
6. [師子] A. V. 34. Sīha.
7–9. [波斯匿] (Pasenadi)‡?

* With the nidāna of the king Ratnakūṭa (?寶嵩) and the Tathāgata Ratnagarbha (?寶藏).

† Last part of the text describes the tortures in the various hells.

‡ Here we have three suttas on Pasenadi, the last of them being the story of his ten dreams (see p. 23). This may show that the last part is intended to be a part of the Dasaka-nipāta, although the sections 50–52 do not seem to be regular numerical texts.

THE

MAKURA-KOTOBA OF PRIMITIVE JAPANESE VERSE.

BY

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THE MAKURA-KOTOBA OF PRIMITIVE JAPANESE VERSE.

The following list comprises all the Makura-kotoba found in the *uta* of the Kojiki, the Nihongi and the Manyôshiu. A more detailed, more accurate, and more fully exemplified account is now given than was possible under pressure of time and circumstance in my Primitive and Medieval Japanese Texts, published in 1906 by the Oxford University Press. The makura-kotoba form the characteristic embellishment of the early *uta* of Japan, and of all subsequent Japanese, as distinguished from Japano-Chinese, verse. Hence I have thought that the revised result of the very considerable labour undertaken for the purposes of my book in investigating the nature and meaning of these singular compounds, might find a place in the Transactions as an aid to students of Japanese poetry. The explanations are, of course, in a measure tentative, as indeed my book is, and members of the Society availing themselves of their greater opportunities will, it is hoped, amend what perhaps ought not to have been undertaken and certainly cannot be adequately accomplished out of Japan itself.

In the Kogi all the authorities seem to have been pretty exhaustively examined, and I have, in consequence, drawn largely upon the two volumes of the *Makura-kotoba toki* (in the smaller edition of the Kogi) for assistance in the execution of my task. I have also consulted Keichiu's edition, and the

well-known but, to my mind, very untrustworthy *Riyakuge*. I have not studied the makura-kotoba in the *Kokinwakashiu*, nor those found in later anthologies; but it would be well if some scholar undertook such an examination, with a view to determining the medieval and modern uses of these epithetical and prefatial or complementary (*jo*) expressions.

The makura-kotoba, one, at least, of which will be found in almost every *uta* of the Manyôshiu, are commonly written with two, more rarely with three or more, *ji*. The *ji* may be used to render syllables only (*kana*); or in their natural sense (*mana*), as when *awokumo* is written 青雲; or as *kariji* (borrowed *ji*), in a sense different from the natural one, i.e. with identity of sound conveying a difference in meaning, as when 鴨, read *mana* to mean wild-duck, is read *kari* to signify the particles *ka mo*. Sometimes *mana* and *kariji* are combined as in *akanesasu* 赤根刺, when 根 is *kari* and the other characters are *mana*.

The makura-kotoba contain usually five syllables, but a few, like *soramitsu*, have only four, and a very few may have an additional syllable. The majority end in the postposition *no*, many in *nasu* (form, make), some in *mono*, the remainder variously. *No*, *nasu* and *mono* have, loosely, the value of the affix 'like' in English. Although essentially mere decorative and formal elements, the makura-kotoba must have had a substantial value in the *uta*, as read or heard by the Japanese of the eighth century.

Of the examples given the translations are sometimes amplified to bring out more fully the sense of the makura-kotoba they illustrate. The interpretations of the *uta*, especially of the *tanka*, given by the various commentators differ widely. I have, in the main, followed the Kogi in the versions I offer, very many of which are, consequently, open to criticism. There is, in fact, no finality in this matter. One caution I may add—the easier and more obvious meaning is, frequently enough, not that intended by the *yomeru hito* of the eighth or some earlier century, but an esoteric and more subtle

one, dependent sometimes upon an allusion now only imperfectly intelligible.

The following abbreviations are used :—

K. means the Kojiki, and small roman numerals the *uta* so numbered in the 1st Appendix to Mr. Chamberlain's translation.

N. denotes the Nihongi, the figures the page in Ihida's edition (35 Meiji). Large roman numerals mean the corresponding 'book' (*maki* or *ken*) in the authorised editions; arabic figures after lay or *chôka*, denote the lay so numbered in my Primitive Texts; pl.n. is place name or names.

N.B.—The commas in the *uta* texts mark off the *ku* or verses of the *tanka*.

Adzusa-yumi (梓弓), bow of *adzusa*, whitewood (*Catalpa Kaempferi*, or perhaps *Prunus sp.*) Used with the pl. n. Hikitsu in Chikuzen—*hiki* to draw or string (a bow).

XI. Adzusayumi, hikite yurusazu, aramaseba, kakaru kohi ni ha ahasazarqmashi wo.

Like a bow drawn but not let fly (had I restrained my feelings), such pains of love had not been mine. (Keichiu).

XI. Adzusayumi, hikimi yurubemi, kozu ha kozu, koba so so wo nado, kodzuha koba so wo.

String (or draw), unstring (or let fly) your whitewood bow—come or come not, as you will—what prevents you, i.e., you are like a bowman who knows not whether to draw his bow or not. (The meaning of this *tanka* is not quite clear, the last two *ku* seem a mere repetition of the third.)

The m.k. is, itself, a true epithet, not a *jo*, and may be compared with ἀργυρότοξος. In my *Prim. Texts* I confounded (through a partial misprint) *yoru* 依 with *yoru* 夜 in giving the explanation of the use of the m. k. with Yora. The m. k. is also used with the name of the province Toyokuni—*toyo*=*toyomu*, resound, but here the m. k. is eked out by *hiki*, draw; thus *adzusayumi hiki* Toyo (kuni)=*a—h—toyomu*, twang of bow drawn and discharged; with the hill-name Yora, *adzusayumi* Yora no yama he....., here the use is phonetic, Yora being regarded as=*yoru*, pull the bow towards one when pre-

paring to shoot; a similar nse is found in the phrase *suwe ha yorinemu,* where *suwe* is bow-end, but here the words mean, at some future time we shall come together (draw near as the archer draws to him the bow ends in bending his weapon); with the hill-name Haruyama, *haru* stretch (or string) a bow; and with *oto,* sound, because in ancient bows the bow-ends were pierced or fashioned so as to make a sound when the bow was discharged. See Lays 3.29.31. 104. also K. li, lxxxviii, and N. 275. The m. k. is typical, in its uses, of these very peculiar epithets or quasi-epithets.

Aga-kokoro (吾情), my heart, feelings, used as a complement with the pl. n. Kiyosumi no ike (Pool of Kiyosumi)—*kiyo*= pure, clear; with Akashi no ura (Bay of Akashi)—Akashi here=bright, clear; with Tsukushi no yama (Mount of Tsukushi)—*aga kokoro tsukushi* meaning, with all my heart.

Ahaji-shima (淡路嶋), the island of Awaji, used phonetically with *ahare,* Oh, alas!

XII. Suminoye no, kishi ni mukaheru, Ahajishima, ahare to kimi wo, ihanu hi ha nashi.

Awaji's isle that fronteth Suminoye's shore, no day I do not cry, *ahare,* alas, my lord!—who has gone as exile or official to a distant province.

Aha-shima-no (粟島), like Awashima (isle of millet), used phonetically with *ahanu mono yuwe.*

XII. Nami no ma yu, kumowi ni miyuru, Ahashima no, ahanu mono yuwe, a ni yosuru kora.

(taking *yosuru* as=*ihi-yosuru*)—'Tis a girl still unmet (unaffianced) whom rumour allots me—'unmet' is *aha* (*nu*) linked with Aha (shima) in the *jo* which means—over the waves in the cloudy distance is seen Ahashima's isle.

Aji-mura-no (味村), *kariji,* like flocks of teal (*Anas formosa*), used with *sawaki* (*gi*), be noisy, tumultuous.

IV. chôka 54.....*ajimura no, sawaki ha yukedo*..... though the tumult of men, like to that of flocks of teal, goes on.....

Aji-no-sumu, teal-haunted, used as a description of Susa no iriye (Creek of Susa in Kii). See *atekawoshi.*

Aji-saha-fu, where teal abound. Used with *mure,* crowd (contracted to *me*). See Lays 26. 27. Comp. *umasahafu.*

Aka-hoshi-no (明星), bright-star-like. Used with *akuru ashita,* opening-morrow ; the m.k. denotes the morning star.

Akanesasu (茜刺, 赤根指). The scripts are *kariji. Ne* is a mere suffix, and *akane=akasa,* redness, brightness, *akanesasu* being equivalent to 'radiant.' It is used with *hi,* sun ; *hiru,* daytime, noon ; *tereru tsukuyo,* shining moon-night ; *murasaki,*—in ancient times—a sort of scarlet or vermillion, (fig.) *kimi,* my lord, lover.

I. Akanesasu, murasaki nu yuki, shime nu yuki, nu-mori ha mizu ya, kimi ga sodefuru.

He goes with the chase on the red-flowered *murasaki* moor, on the prohibited moor, will, or let not, the watchers see him if he waves his sleeves to me. *Murasaki* is *Lithospermum sp.;* the forbidden moor, one reserved for a royal hunt; waving the sleeves is a love-token. By the 'watchers' are intended *subaudité* the guardians of the composer, the Princess Nukada, a concubine of the Mikado Temmu. The lover is Hitsugi no miko, his answer will be found under *murasakino.*

Akara-biki (赤羅引), *ra=ne* of *akanesasu, hiku* is *kariji* for *hikaru* contracted ; the meaning, therefore, is simply ruddy, bright. Used as under—.....*akarabiku, hi no kururu make :* until the setting of the bright sun ; with *shikitahe no ko,* fine maid.

XI. Akarabiku, hada mo furezute, netaredomo, keshiki kokoro wo, aga 'mohanaku ni.

Though I may not for a space clasp your fine form to me, shall not our love remain unchanged.

Aki-hagi-no, like autumn bush-clover. (*Lespedeza*), used with *shinahite aramu imo,* my love yielding to me softly as the autumn bush-clover (to the wind).

Aki-kashiha (秋柏), a sort of oak-tree ; there are

various scripts, *kariji*, as the above may be. Used with Uruha, name of a river of unknown locality. Keichiu reads the m. k. as *asakashiha*, morning-oak, whose large leaves glisten with dew, hence applying to *n* (*uru*) wet, if Uruha be read Nuruha. Or *aki*=*akari*=*akara*=*kiyora* (bright), but this does not suit Uruha. If we read Uruha as Uruhi (and there is authority for such a reading), then *akara kashiha*, bright-oak, might go with *uruhi* (*urufu-uruhofu* be moist, wet)—Uruhi river minding of glistening oaks. Another explanation regards *aki* as 商 and *uru* as 賣 (Kotoba no Izumi).

Aki-kaze-no (金 風), like autumn wind. The script is *kariji* for 秋 風、 Used with Yamabuki no se (channel, or rapids of Yamabuki,—the *yamabuki* is Kerria japonica—the connexion being with *buki*=*fuki*, blow; Chiye no ura (Bay of Chiye i.e., of a thousand creeks), *chi* being regarded as the homophon *chi*, motion of air; compare *hayachi*, *arashi*, *tamashii*, *kaze* itself=*kami-shi* (*kanshi*,*kaze*).

Aki-kusa-no, like autumn grass or herbs. Used with *musubishi*, knotted; bundles of grass or reeds were knotted and used as tokens or symbols for various purposes, memorials, pledges, waysigns, etc.

Aki-no-ha-no, like autumn foliage, used with *nihohi ni teru*, ruddy-bright like autumn foliage.

Akitsushima, island of rich ripe ears (of grain) or 蜻 蛉 *kariji*—dragon-fly (shaped) land. Used with Yamato. Lays 2. 141. N. 295. 343.

Aki-yama-no, like autumn (wooded) hills, used with *shitaberu imo* (Lay 29) my love (delightful to look upon as) the perishing leafage of autumn hills—Lay 136, with *iro natsukashiku*, lovely in tint as the autumn woods.

Ama-dzutafu (天 傳) sky-traversing. Used with *hi*, sun; *irihi*, setting sun; Hi (gasa no ura) Bay of Higasa. See Lay 17.

Amadamu (not in Manyôshiu) See K. lxxxii. lxxxiii; N. 325. heaven-soaring, used with Karu (pl. n.) as homophonous

with *karu* (*gamo*)? the dusky mallard, or more probably with *kari* which may have had a variant *karu*, wild-goose.

Ama-gomori (雨 籠), rain-bound, used with Mikasa no yama the Hill of Mikasa—*kasa*, a hat, being needed by those who are rain-bound.

Ama-kazofu (天 數), the script is *kariji*, if authentic; but no sense can be got out of word or script. It may be a mistake for *sasanami*, or for *amakumo*, and as either might be applied to Ohotsu, that is to *oho*, vast, measureless (as the *ἀνήριθμα κύματα*, or as the clouds of heaven).

Ama-kumo-no (天 雲), like the clouds of heaven, used with *tayutafu*, drift, heave; with *yukurayukura*, in a heaving, tossing manner, (real or figurative); *yuki no manimani*, as the clouds of heaven drift hither and thither; *yukikaherinamu*, as clouds of heaven that drift to and fro; *okuka mo shirazu*, bottomless, infinite.

XIII. Omohi-dete, subenaki toki ha, amakumono, okuka mo shirani, kohitsutsu so woru.

when I think of thee I know not what to do, I am filled with love for thee infinite as the cloud-realm of heaven.

The m. k. is also used with *tadoki* (*tatsuki*) *mo shirazu*, wayless, restless as the clouds, etc.; *yoso nomi mitsutsu*, while looking elsewhere, anywhere, as at the clouds, etc.; *wakareshi yukeba*, parting and going away, as the clouds are continually drifting apart. See Lays 22. 25. 37. 45. 48. 57. 58. 62.

Ama-no-hara, the sky-field, plain of heaven.

III. Amanohara, Fuji no shiba yama, ko no kure no, toki yutsurinaba, ahazu ka mo aramu.

amid the dark woods that now clothe the lower slopes of Fuji, whose peak reaches the sky-field, may I meet privily my mistress—but what if our meeting were prevented by change of season (when the leaves would be all fallen)!

Ama-teru-ya, O sky bright, used with *hi*, sun.

Ama-tobu-ya (天 飛) sky-soaring. Used with *Karu* (no michi) as homophon of *karu* for *kari*, the wild-goose.

VIII. Chôka 102 Hisakata no, amanokahara ni, amatobu-ya, hire.....her wimple flying high in the wind by the channel of the river of sunbright heaven.....See Lay 27, also K. lxxxiv.

Ama-tsu-mitsu (天 水) water of heaven—rain.

II. chôka 22.....amatsumidzu, afugite matsu ni..... while waiting looking up for the rain, the water of heaven. See also Lay 234.

Ama-zakaru (天 離) used with *hina*, march or border-land, land beyond settled portion of territory, frontier-land. If applied to the syllable *hi* (homophon of *hi*, sun) it simply means, high in heaven; if to the whole word, remote as heaven (from City-Royal). See Lays 9. 55. 213. Also N. 75.

Ame-ni-masu (天 座).

VI. Amenimasu tsukuyomi wotoko.....: sky-seated moon-god.

Amoritsuku (天 降 付)=*ame-ori-tsuku*, came down from heaven upon; used with Kaguyama where the gods descending from heaven alighted. See Lay 33.

Arahikinu (洗 衣) cleansed vestment.

XII. Arahikinu, Torikahi kaha.....: the river Torikahi, minding of change (*torikahi*) of soiled for clean vestments.

Ara-kaki-no, of a rough fence (or ragged—but the *ara* is merely epithetical).

XI. Satobito no, kotoyose tsuma wo, arakakino, yoso ni aga mimu, nikukaranaku ni.

The village folk say there is no bond of love between us, 'tis true I look away from you (for I fear men's eyes) but hateful by no means are you to me. Here *arakakino*, house-fence, is used as a mere dividing barrier between *yoso*, without or elsewhere, and *uchi*, within.

Arare-nasu (霰 成) hail-like.

II. Chôka 24.....ya no shigekeku, ararenasu, sochi yori-kureba.....

as the arrows fly thickly hither-wards like driving hail

(the passage is a *variorum* reading). In this example the m. k. would seem to apply rather to *shigekeku* than to *sochi*.

Arare-utsu, hail-beaten, used phonetically with Arare matsubara, (piny moor) near Sumiyoshi.

Arare-furi, hail-pour. Used with Kashima no saki (Cape Kashima)—*kashimashi* means the crash and rattle of hail; Kishima ga take (Peak of Kishima), *kishima=kashima =kashimashi* (kashmash); Tohotsu Afumi—Further Ômi—*tohotsu* being taken as=*toshi* (*tashi, teshi*), *tosh-tash-tesh,* clatter of hail.

VII Ararefuri, Tohotsu Afumi no, Adokaha yanagi, kare-redomo, Mata mo ofu chifu, Adokaha yanagi.

Yonder willows by Ado's river in Further Ômi of *tosh-tosh* Mattering hail reminding—though polled, again, men say, those willows fresh branches show by Ado's waters. The inner meaning is that hope is ever renewed. The *uta* is a *sedôka.*

Arataheno (荒妙), like coarse, (unbleachen) hempen cloth. Used with Fuji, part of various place names.

I. chôka 13.....*arataheno, Fujihara ga uhe ni*..... on Fujihara, of coarse-cloth (*fuji*) web reminding—*fuji* is the wistaria.

Ara-tama-no (荒玉 *kariji*). A much disputed m. k. It is used with *toshi*, year; *tsuki*, month; *kihe*, elapse, and so must have reference to time and its divisions. Motowori thinks it a contraction of *atara-atara-mi*, but this is only a guess. The Kogi gives *aratasama*. It may be a poetic contraction of *arata amaru, arata maski*. In any case it means future, new, to come, in Lays 48. 49—*aratama no toshi furu made ni*, while year anew follows year; *aratamano toshi no wo nagaku*, long the thread (course) of successive years. See also K. xxviii.

Arichigata, name of a place unknown. Used phonetically with *ari-nagusamete=nagusamete*,. Officials on their way from and to City-Royal, often beguiled the tediousness of travel by composing stanzas in which the name of some place served as

a m. k.—stanzas, for the most part, regretting the girls they 'left behind' them!

Ari-kinu-no (珠衣) 珠 is said to be an error for 織 and this is a *kariji* use of the *ji*, the m.k. being really *orikinu*, woven garment, as opposed to *kahakinu* (garment of skin) or *ke goromo* (fur garment). Used with *sawi-sawi shidzumi, takara no kora* and *arite nochi ni mo.*

IV. Arikinuno, sawi-sawi shidzumi, ihe no 'mo ni, mono ihazu ki nite, omohi kanetsu mo. I can scarce bear to think of parting from my love, and of our last farewell words, and of her sighs that rusled with the murmur of the rustle of her dress.

XVI. Chôka 203.....*arikinu no takara no kora*..... maid fine as a woven garment. With *arite nochi ni* the use is merely phonetic. In K. xcix. we have *arikinuno* and *Mihe no ko ga*, maid of Mihe minding of the three folds (*ni he*) of a woven garment.

Arima-suge, Arima sedge or reed or rush, used phonetically with *aritsutsu, arite nochi ni mo.*

XIII. Hito mina no, kasa ni nufu chifu, Arimasuge, arite nochi ni mo, ahamu to so 'mofu.

I long to meet thee some day—the *jo* is —the Arima reeds whereof 'tis said all men's hats are woven, the link is Arima-arite.

Ariso-matsu (荒磯松) shore-pine, used phonetically.

XI. Ajinosumu, Susa no iriye no, arisomatsu, a wo matsu kora ha, tada hitori nomi .....

all alone is she who waiteth for me—('tis where the pine trees fringe the shores of teal-haunted Susa's waters). The former part is the *jo*, the link is *arisomatsu—a wo matsu.**

Ariso-nami, shore-waves, used phonetically.

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* (In my copy of the Kogi the reference is wrong and I have not been able to find this *tanka*).

XIII. choka 147 ..... *arisonami, arite mo mimu to* ..... as long as I live may I see .....

Asa-giri-no (朝霧), like morning mist. Used with *oho ni ahimishi*, dimly seen (as in morning mist).

IV. Asagirino, oho ni ahimishi, hito yuwe ni, inochi shinubeku, kohi-wataru ka mo.

I saw her but dimly, as in a mist, yet ever shall I love her to the peril of my life. The m. k. is also used with *omohi-madohite*, mind bewildered (as of one in a mist); so with *midaruru*.

XVII. choka 224 ..... *asagirino, midaruru kokoro*, my mind distracted as of one wandering in a morning mist.

Asa-hi-nasu (朝日成), like morning sun.

XIII. choka 163 ..... *asahinasu, maguhashi mo, yufuhinasu, uraguhashi mo*, beautiful to the eye as morning sun, beautiful to the mind as setting sun (but *ma* and *ura* may be merely intensitive prefixes).

Asa-hi-sashi, used with *magirahashi=mabayuki*, dazzled by morning sun; with *sogahi ni miyuru*, seen behind one's back, i.e., what is seen on turning round.

XVII. choka 222. *Asahisashi, sogahi ni miyuru, kamu nagara, na ni ohaseru, shirakumono, chihe wo oshi-wake, ama sosori, takaki Tachiyama* ..... High Tachi's peak that scaleth heaven and pierceth the manifold white clouds, well answering its name, divine in majesty, seen when one turns one's back upon (sunbright City-Royal).

Asa-hi-sasu, sunshiny, sunbright, sunlit.

X. Fuyu sugite, haru kitarurashi, asahisasu, Kasuga no yama ni, kasumi tanabiku.

Now, winter gone, cometh spring I ween, and the mists are hovering about Kasuga's sunlit hill. Kasuga is written 春日 spring-day.

Asaji-hara (浅茅原). There are Asaji ura and Asaji yama in Tsushima, but the locality of Asajihara is not certainly

known. The m. k. is merely phonetic, used with *tsubara tsubara ; ji hara—tsubara.*

III. Asajihara, tsubara tsubara ni, mono 'mohaba, furinishi sato shi, omohoyuru ka mo !

Faring by Asajihara sorrowful thoughts rise distinct in my mind, for it is of the old home I think, belike!—*tsubara tsubara=tsumabiraka.* The 'old home' is a former City-Royal, now abandoned.

The m. k. is also used with Wonu (Little moor) as the *asaji* (Imeperata arundinacea or Miscanthes sinensis) is common there; and with *chifu,* a reedy place. See also K. cx. and N. 387, where, however, the expression seems to be purely descriptive.

Asakaho-no (朝 貌) like the morning-glory (*Pharbitis hederacea*).

X. Koto ni idete, ihaba yuyushimi, asagahono, ho ni ha sahidenu, kohi mo suru ka mo.

I dare not tell my love, my love like the morning-glory that as yet showeth not its blossom—or, perhaps, like the young rice that showeth no ear conspicuous as the morning-glory.....
.....

Asa-kami-no (朝 髮) like morning-tresses, disordered and dishevelled on waking.

IV. choka 60 ..... *Asakamino, omohi-midarete* ...
....., like my dishevelled tresses on waking all scattered are my thoughts.

Asa-kasumi (日 霞) morning-mist used with *yahe,* manifold, *kahi*—or *kabi-ya, honoka.*

X. Asakasumi, yahe yama koyete, yobu kotori, yobi ya na gakuru, yado mo aranaku ni.

Crossing the hills manifold as the veils of morning mist the young birds I hear calling—why are they calling, for no lodging for thee is here, love!

X. Asakasumi, kabiya ga shita ni, naku kahadzu, kowe dani kikeba, are kohime ya mo.

As I listen to the murmur of the frogs while watching in the watch hut amid the morning mists, I am full, belike, of longings for my love.

Kabiya is variously explained—a hut for the watcher of fires lit to scare off wild boars or deer from the crops; a hut for a watcher who drives off birds from grain-bait scattered in the waters of pool or lagoon; the hut of a man stationed to watch crops, who lights a fire to drive off mosquitos. By some the syllable *ka* is connected with *kirafu*, misty, to which *kasumi* would apply as a sort of epexegesis. The use of the m. k. with *honoka*, dim, obscure, is obvious.

Asamoyoshi (朝毛吉, 麻裳吉) both scripts are more or less *kariji*; *yoshi* is *yo shi*; *asamo* is smock of hempen cloth. The m. k. is used with the syllable *ki* (as in Kinohe) which represents *ki* 著 put on, don.

Asa-shimo-no (朝霜) morning rime, used with *ke* (*kenaba*, *kenubeki*, *keyasuki*) as equal to *kiye*, be put out, vanish, disappear, pass away.

XIII. Asashimono, kenubeku nomi ya, toki nashi ni, omohi-wataramu, iki no wo ni shite,

I am full of sadness as I reflect upon the uncertainty of my life, any day I may pass away like the morning hoar-frost.

Asa-tori-no (朝鳥) like morning (flights of) birds, used with *kayohasu*, come and go, go and return, pass on.

II. choka 26 ..... *asatorino, kayohasu kimi ga* ... .; with *ne nomi nakitsutsu*, while just lamenting as the morning birds cry shrilly in early flight; with *naki nomi nakamu*.

IX. choka 117 ..... *hina wosame ni to, asatorino, asatachi shi tsutsu*, as he departs to govern a frontier-land, rising early in the morning like the birds that fly at day-break.

Asa-tsuyu-no (朝露), like morning dew. Used like *asashimono*.

Ashibi-nasu, like *ashibi*, shrub. *Ashibi* (*asebi*) is *Andromeda japonica*.

VII. Ashibinasu, sakayeshi kimi ga, korishi-wi no, ishi-wi no midzu ha, nomedo akanu ka mo.

Shall I ever tire of drinking of the waters of the stone-cribbed well, the well digged by my comely lord, comely as the *ashibi* (in blossom).

Ashi-ga-chiru, where the reed-blooms scatter; used with Naniha, as built on low reedy ground.

Ashihikino. A very obscure m. k. It is found in K. lxxviii, and N. 234 and in several *manyō choka* (49.50). The scripts are 足日木, 足檜木, 足疾, 足曳, 足引 &c. The last script gives a common and obvious but quite incorrect, though not altogether inapplicable, meaning, foot-dragging, i.e., wearisome, toilsome. The least unacceptable explanation seems to be *ikashi-hi-ki*, flourishing or abundant *hi* (chamaecyparis) trees. The m. k. is used with *yama*, hill; *wo no he* (峰上) hill-top; *yatsuwo* (八峰) eight (many) peaks, or many peaked range.

VIII. Ashihikino, ko no ma tachi kuku, hototogisu, kaku kiki somete, nochi kohimu ka mo.

How can I ever cease to love the cuckoo's note since first I heard him sing as he hid him among the clustered *hinoki*. (It is doubtful whether *ashihikino* is here more than a descriptive epithet of *ko*, tree).

III. Ashihikino, ihane kogoshimi, suganone wo, hikaba katami to, shime nomi so yufu.

Though they surround her with a *shime* prohibitive cordon as hard to win through as to scramble up by holding on to the reeds yon craggy heights clothed with *hinoki* (yet will I win her). In this *tanka, suganone wo* seems to be a m.k. of *hikaba katami* (*katakaramu*), *u* or *e* (*ru*) being understood and *hiki* being intensitive prefix-verb.....*suganonewo hikite katakaramu to.*

XVII. choka 225 ..... *ashihikino wotemo kono mo ni* ..... on this flank and on that flank of the range covered with *hinoki*. So with *arashi* (written 山風).

Ashi-ho-yama, a hill in *Hitachi*.

XIV. Tsukubaneni, sogahi ni miyuru, Ashihoyama, ashikaru toga mo, sane miyenaku ni.

Not a blemish in her fine face may be seen—or (my love were less burdensome). Here the m.k. is applied phonetically to *ashi* (*karu*)—the gist of the *tanka* is to be found in the concluding couplet which appears to mean—truly no evil fault is visible in (her or him), or if any 'tis slight. (In my Primitive texts *ashigaru* (sic) was hastily taken to mean *ashi karu*, reed-duck,—the concluding couplet of the *tanka* being neglected ; a fatal error in seeking the explanations of m.k. is not thoroughly to master the meaning and, where possible, the allusion of each example.

Ashi-kabi-no (葦若末), *ashinoureno* (末) shoot of *ashi* reed.

II. Aga kikishi, mimi ni yoku nitsu, ashikabino, a nayamu waga se, tsutometabubeshi.

'Twas true then what came to my ears, my brother, (sir), that you had hurt your foot. I beg you neglect it not. The m. k. applies phonetically to *a* (*shi*) *nayamu*, foot hurt, crippled; *ashinoure* may mean, the florescent top of a reed-stalk, or, possibly, a painful foot 足ノ憂.

Ashi-kaki-no, like a reed-fence. Used with (*furinishi*) *sato.*

VI. choka 77.....Oshiteru, Naniha no kuni ha, ashikakino, furinishi sato. Here the m.k. qualifies *sato* rather than *furinishi.* The land of wave-worn Naniha, from where reedy fence surrounds deserted palace. The m.k. is also used with *omohi-midarete*, and with *hoka*, without, the house-fence separating what is *hoka*, without, from what is *uchi*, within. See Lays 123. 155.

Ashi-no-ne-no (葦根), like root of reed, a phonetic m.k. of *ne* (*mogoro*)=*nengoro*,

VII. Ashinoneno, nemokoro 'mohite, musubiteshi, tama no wo to ihaba, hito tokame ya mo!

A beadlace firm-thridden—our solemnly vowed love, shall men speak ill of our love?

Ashi-no-ure, see *sul ashikakino.*

Atekawoshi (*ajikawoshi, ajikayoshi*), phonetic, m. k. of *Chika no saki* (*Chika* voiced—*jika*). The value of *atcka* is unknown. See Lay 68 where it is a reading for *ajinosumu.*

Awa-yuki-no (沫雪) like frothy or watery snow, or froth and snow, used with *ke,* vanish, melt away.

VIII. Awayukino, kenubeki mono wo, ima made ni nagarahenuru ha, imo ni ahamu to.

Have I not lived thus long a life fleeting as melting snow, so that I might meet thee. See also K. iv. vi. where it applies to *wakayuru,* being young, i.e., soft, tender.

Ashi-tadzu-no, like cranes among the reeds, or reed-cranes.

III. Kimi ni kohi, ita mo subenami, ashitadzuno, ne nomi shi nakayu, asa yohi ni shite.

Morn and even I do but utter cries of woe like the cries of yonder cranes among the reeds, for I am all foredone with love for thee, my lord.

IV. Kusakaye no, iriye ni asaru, ashitadzu no, ana tadzu-tadzushi, tomo nashi ni shite.

Companionless I am desolate as the cranes among the reeds picking up their food on the shores of the lagoons of Kusakaye. Here the m. k. is simply phonetic.

Awo-hata-no (青旗), the script is *kariji. Mana* script would be 綾織 *aya hata,* patterned web. *Aya* being read *awo,* the latter applies to Kadzuraki (pl. n.), *Kadzura* being a chaplet, often of green twigs. The m. k. is also used with Osaka yama, *osaka=osoki* (*osohi-ki*)=*uhagi,* over-dress. See Lays 55. 190.

Awo-kumo-no (青雲) like blue (or dark-blue) cloud.

XIII. choka 186 ..... *shirakumono, tanabiku kuni no, awokumono, mukabusu kuni no* ....., the land over which spread the white clouds, the land lying under the dark-blue cloud. Here the *awokumo* must mean the blue expanse of sky, against which the lower clouds show white (*shirakumo*).

XIV. Naga haha ni, korare a ha yuku, awokumo no, ide ko wagimoko, ahimite yukamu.

Your mother hath bidden me harshly go, love, but still, prithee, come out to meet me, come out under the blue sky.

Awo-midzura, a particular mode of dressing the hair, so as to fall equally on either shoulder, ornamented by a chaplet of green twigs (willow &c.)

VII. Awomidzura, Yosami ga hara ni, hito mo ahanu ha mo, ihabashiru, Afumi agata no, monogatari semu.

On the moor of Yosami shall not we meet, that I may tell you the tale of my doings in Further Afumi (i. e., Tôtômi). Yosami is in Mikawa—*yose-ami* is to interweave as one interweaves green twigs to make a chaplet for a *midzura* coiffure.

Awoniyoshi, the most puzzling of all the m. k. It is usually written 青丹吉, *kariji* of course. May we not take yoshi 吉 as *yo shi*, exclamative particles, and *awo ni* as dark earth, used to paint artificial eyebrows with? Or by changing *awoni* to *awomi*, greenness, the m.k. becomes applicable to *nara*, a kind of oak (*Quercus glandulifera*). Some regard *awaniyoshi* as *awo-ni-neyashi*, prepare clay for pottery—in N. under reign of Jimmu we read "the past year at the end of the 9th month he took *hani* (clay) from Mt. Kagu, and made eighty (very many) platters thereof." *Rokushô*, verdigris, is still known as *awoni*, Nara, again, is connected with (*fumi*) *nara* (*shi*), tread level for building on—as, for example, City-Royal. *Narasu* also means to clear (of timber, etc.), for building on. In some of the above ways the meaning of *awoniyoshi*, as applied to Nara, may be guessed at. See K. lviii, N. 287, 403, Lays 7, 9, 15, 24, 137.

Awo-yagi-no, like green willow. Used with Hararo: *kuhashi mayone.*

XIV. Awoyagino, Hararo kaha-to ni, na wo matsu to, semido ha kumazu, tachido narasu mo.

By the narrows of the Hararo river, of catkined (*haru*) willows

minding, I draw no water (I only seem to, so as to hide our rendezvous) I do but trample the shore flat with waiting impatiently for you.

XIX. chôka 247.....*awayagino, kuhashi mayone*..... arched eyebrow graceful as a willow-branch. In the Kokinshiu we find.....*awoyagino, ito tayezu* enduring as the thready branches (constantly renewed) of the willow tree.

Chichi-no-mi-no, phonetic m.k. of *chichi,* father. *Chichinomi* is an old name for the *ichô* (Ginkgo biloba). XIX. *chôka* 239.

Chidori-naku, where sanderlings pipe. A descriptive praise-epithet of the Saho river, and the Yoshinu river.

Chihayaburu (千磐破, 千早振, 血速舊). The scripts are all *kariji* probably. The first two mean thousand-rock-smasher, thousand-swift-shaker. If *chi* be taken as=*te* (*chi*) hilt, then the meaning would be thousand-hilt-brandisher. With *uji* (gens) the m.k. is used, taking *uji*=*iji* stoutness, stubbornness (in fighting?).

II. Tamakadzura, mi naranu ki ni ha, chihayaburu, kami ni tsuku chifu, naranu ki goto ni.

The *tamakadzura* fruiteth not, and 'tis, they say, because a god hath touched it, every tree so touched fruiteth not.

This *tanka* was composed when Ohotomo no Sukune (Ammaro no kyô) was wooing the Lady of Kose, who, it seems, distrusted him, comparing him to a *kadzura* or *kamoji* (Brachypodium japm) which, it must be supposed, bears an invisible grain. There are other *tamakatsu* (*dzu*) *ra*—玉 柱 the tree in the moon; the word also means a sort of head-dress consisting of a chaplet of thridden pearls.

VII. Chihayaburu, Kane no misaki wo, suginu to mo, wa wo ba wasurezhi, Shika no sume kami.

He will not forsake me, the god who dwells in Shika (for I have always duly honoured him), therefore without fear have I passed even the dread cliffs of Kane beaten by the waves with the might of the thousand-smashing-gods.

Chi-haya-hito, used with Uji (river-name).

VII. Chihayahito, Uji kaha nami wo, kiyomi ka mo, tabi yuku hito no, tachi kate ni suru.

Hardly may the wayfarer leave the waters—are they not sweet!—of the billowy Uji stream, of thousand-swift-hero minding.

Chiri-hiji-no (塵泥) like dust and dirt, m.k....of *kadzu ni mo aranu.*

XV. Chirihijino, kadzu ni mo aranu, ware yuwe ni, omohi-waburamu, imo ga kanashisa.

Oh the sadness of my beloved, who lamenteth because of me (a mere exile am I), one of no account, just dust and dirt.

Fuji-goromo (藤服) vestment of coarse wistaria fibre. Used with *matohoku shi areba* and *naru to ha saredo.*

III. Suma no ama no, shihoyaki kinu no, fujigoromo, matohoku shi areba, imada ki narezu.

He cometh not—far apart are we still, like the threads of a coarse wistaria smock worn by some Suma salt-burner.

XII. Ohokimino, shiho yaku ama no, fujigoromo, naru to ha suredo, iya medzurashi mo.

Still my love is comely to me; though our love be of old date, yet is it not like the coarse vestment of a salt-girl (worn with age and use).

Fuji-nami-no (藤浪) like waves (festoons) of wistaria blossoms. Used with *omohi-matsuhari,* thought (love) enwrapped.

XIII. chôka 145. *Shikishima no.....fujinamino, omohi-matsuharu.....kimi.*

my lord embowered in my love as in festoons of wistaria blossoms.

Fuka-miru-no (深海松), like deep *miru* seaweed (*Codium sp.?*) Phonetic m.k. of *fukamete, fukameshi;* also of *mimakuhoshi,* longing to see, (the two *mi-meru, minaku.*)

Fune-hatsuru (在根良) The script is erroneous—it should be 布根莧 and this is *kariji* for 舟泊, where

ships anchor at end of a passage. The m.k. is used as an epithet of Tsushima.

I. Funehatsuru, Tsushima no watari, wata naka ni, nusa tori mukete, haya kaheri kose.

O thou who art mid-way on the passage to Tsushima where all ships anchor (on the way to Korea and China) make offerings to the Sea-Gods that speedy thy return may be.

Furu-goromo, an old garment. Used with Matsuchi no yama, *matsuchi* being taken as=*mata uchi,* beat and beat, as old garments are beaten in the process of cleansing; with *utsuteshi hito, utsuteshi=utsu suteshi,* hence the application here is the same as above. (The m,k. must not be read with *suteru,* reject, abandon, although it seems so applicable in

XI. Furukoromo, utsuteshi hito ha, akikaze no, tachi kuru tohi ni, mono 'mofu mono so.

The chill winds of autumn are beginning to blow and I am full of sadness, for I am desolate and deserted (like a cast-off garment)·

Compare *III. Imayari ha, akikaze samuku, fukinamu wo, ikadeka hito ni, nagaki yo wo nemu.*

Now the autumn winds will blow chilly—how shall one sleep alone through the long nights?

Furu-yuki-no (零 雪), like fallen (or falling) snow. Used with *ke,* vanish, melt away, disappear, (*kenaba, kenugani, kenu, sara ni kenubeku;* with *ke* (*kihe,* elapse) as in *ke nagaku kohishi; shirokami made ni,* up to the time of white hairs; *yuki* (as phonetic m.k.); *ichishiro kemu na,* distinct, conspicuous; *shikite omofu no,* continually think of.

IV. Michi ni ahite, yemashishi gara ni, furuyukino, kenaba kenu gani, kohi 'mofu wagimo.

As I met thee all smiling on the way I felt as though my heart perished within me like falling snow, for I love thee, my lady (and I know not what those smilings mean.).

X. Furuyukino, sora ni kenubeku, kofuredomo, afu yoshi mo naku, tsuki so he ni keru.

Like snow that melts away ere touching ground I am like to

perish with love, yet never may I meet thee and the months pass by, pass by.

XVII. Furuyukino, shirokami made ni, ohokimi ni, tsukahematsureba, tafutoku mo aruka.

Is it not honour enough to serve my Sovran until the hairs of my head are white as driven snow.

X. Amawobune, Hatsuse no yama ni, furuyukino, ke nagaku kohishi, kimi ga oto so suru.

Is it the sound of my lord's chariot that I hear, my lord whom I have so long loved? The first three *ku* form a *jo* to *ke*, which, read with it, means, melt away—the melting of the snows that fall on the mountains of Hatsuse—minding of the mooring (*hatsu*) of fisher boats (*amawobune*) that find safe haven there—but, read with what follows, means *kihe* (elapse),—*ke nagaku kohishi*, for a long time past beloved.

VI. Waga yado no, kimi matsu no ki ni, furuyukino, yuki ni ha yukazhi, machi nishi matamu.

Here *yuki* has a double sense, 'snow,' with what precedes, 'go,' with what follows—as the falling snow bides on the master-pine by my mansion, so will I bide here nor go elsewhere (and here receive my lord).

X. Ume no hana, sore to mo miyezu, furuyukino, ichishirokemu na, matsukahi yaraba.

'Twill be plain as fallen snow should messages ply between us, even though the plum blossoms are not yet seen, yet—how to live without hearing of thee! The plum blossoms appearing while snow may yet fall are often compared poetically to a fall of snow.

X. Wazamino, mine yuki sugite, furuyukino, shikite omofu to, maose sono ko ni.

As I cross Wazami's hill—tell her as the snow falleth more and more so I love her more and more.

Fuse-ya-taki (廬八燎) or (屋), the burning of a hovel, used with *susushi kiholi*, *susumi-arasohi*, dispute eagerly, obstinately, *susushi* being regarded also as meaning, sooty, smoke-begrimed, as by the burning of a hut or hovel.

Fusuma-chi-wo (衾道), the name of a road or track on the way to Hikite yama, part of Hakahi yama.

II. Fusumachiwo, Hikite no yama ni, imo wo oki, yamachi wo yukeba, ikeru to mo nashi.

No more care I for life as I fare over the mountain ways, leaving my love behind me at Hikite, whose hill-name minds of our happy couch (*fusuma* is a bed-coverlet). The connexion of *fusuma* with *hiki*, draw, is obvious, but it seems probable that the expression is not a m.k. at all but merely a place-name. Keichiu takes *chi* as=*te* (手) part held when the whole drawn (*hiki*).

Fuyu-komori (冬木成. 冬隱), the first script is *kariji* winterbound, epithet of *haru*, spring. Another explanation is given, *fuyu* (生) *ke* (氣) *mori* (萌), which might be rendered, commencement of the working of the spirit of growth which is distinctive of springtime.

Hafu-kuzu-no (延葛野), like creeping *kuzu* (Pueraria thunbergiana). Used with various phrases including *taye*, end, cease; *iya to nagaku, shita yoshi kohiba, yukuhe wo nami, hikaba yori kone, nochi mo ahamu to.*

XX. Hafukuzuno, tayezu shinubayu, ohokimino, meshishi nu he ni ha, shimeyufubeshi mo.

With a sacred rice-rope shall be guarded the moor-side that hath gladdened my great lord's eyes, whose memory shall be cherished for time endless as the creeper that traileth o'er the moor.

X. Fujinamino, sakeru haru nu ni hafukuzu no, shita yo shi kohiba, hisashiku mo aramu.

Deep hidden as the moorland creeper among the bushes of the heathside when spring is bright with wistaria blossoms hath my love long been for thee (longer I may not hide it). *Shita yo*= *shita yori* and means, from below, i.e., deep hidden in my being as the creeper among the bushes.

XII. Ohosaki no, ariso no watari, hafukuzuno, yukuhe wo nami ya, kohi wataranamu.

The course of my love, belike, will resemble that of the wayless

kuzu that coileth o'er the strand by the ferry of Ohosaki. (i.e. he knows not what hope to have).

XIV. Ashigarano, Hakone no yama ni, hafukuzuno, hikaba yori kone.....

Let me draw thee to me as one may draw a trail of the moor-creeper that windeth o'er the hills of Hakone in Ashigara.

XVI. Nashi natsume, kimi ni aha tsugi, hafukuzuno, nochi mo ahamu to, ahohi hana saku.

The pear-tree and the jujube, *kimi* grain (*kibi=Panicum miliaceum*, also Kimi, lord), and *aha* grain (*Setariaglauca*)—do not their very names tell us, sir, we shall often feast together again in course as surely as the coils of *kuzu* that ever trail o'er the moor-side, and, further, we hear the same story in the blossoming of the *ahohi* (*afu, ahu, aho*, meet). The *ahohi* is a sort of hollyhock. The *tanka* is said to be the work of a retainer entertained by his lord, upon whose table the above fruits, grains and flowers are displayed. The version is, in part, imitative.

Hafu-tsuta-no, like creeping creeper. This m.k., as applied to *wakare*, separation or departure, implies a reference to the frequent division, *wakare*, of creeping plants in spreading over rock or trunk. In my Prim. Texts I have adopted a rather more poetic intention, but the above explanation is more correct.

II. Chôka 17 ..... *hafutsuta no, wakareshi* ..... parting from thee I fare on.....minding of the partings (branchings—*wakare*) of the creeping creeper.

Hahasoba-no, like the *hahasoba* oak (*Quercus dentata*), a phonetic m.k. of *haha*, mother. Compare *chichinomino*.

Haho-mame-no, like creeping wild-bean (*Dolichos?*).

XX. Michi no be ni, umara no ure ni, hahomameno, karamaru kimi wo, hakare ya yukamu.

Alas that I must leave my lord around whom my arms have twined as the wild-bean twines among the tops of the roadside brambles.

Hama-hisaki, the shore *hisakaki* (Eurya chinenis).

XI. Nami no ma yu, miyuru ko shima no, hamahisaki, hisashiku narinu, kimi ni ahazu shite.

O for meeting not my lord for so long a time, long as the *hisaki* tree's name betokens that grows on the shore of the islet seen beyond the waves. The m.k. is really phonetic, *hisa—hisa.* There is a Koshima in Kii and another in Bizen. If either is meant, *nami no mayu miyuru* will be a *jo* to the place-name.

Hama-sudori, shore birds (dotterels, etc.).

XIV. Hito no ko no, kanashike shida ha, hamasudori, a nayamu koma wo, woshikeku mo nashi.

When I long for my beloved what care I if my horse waddles (*a* [*shi*] *nayamu*) like a shore-bird (i.e., in his ardour he will even gallop so as to lame his steed).

Hana-chirafu (花散相), blossom-scatter. Used with Akitsu no nu (moor of Akitsu, in Yoshinu, celebrated for its plum and cherry blossoms) and *mukatsu wo no.*

XIV. Hanachirafu, kono mukatsu wo no, Wona no wo no, hizhi ni tsuku made, kimi ga yo mo ga mo.

The meaning (according to Keichiu) appears to be—May my lord's days be as long in the land as would be needed to cut through Wona's headland and make an island of it—Wona of yonder blossoming hill-range (*iro*) minding.

Chirafu (*chiru*) does not always mean 'scatter' but sometimes, as here (Keichiu), make full show of, as in *sakichiru,* burst into fullest blossom. *Chiru* or *chirafu* ought, perhaps, to be so used with Akitsu nu.

Hana-guhashi (花細), flower-fine, i.e., most excellent. Used with *ashikaki,* reed fence, i.e., with *ashi,* reed, to denote, perhaps, a house-fence of fine tall, stout, fresh reeds.

XI. Hanaguhashi, ashikaki koshi ni, tada hito me, ahimishi ko yuwe, chitabi nagekitsutsu.

But one glimpse got I in passing through the fine house-fence, yet a thousand times have I sighed for her.

Hana-katsumi (花勝見) The script is *kariji.* The

m.k. means apparently an Iris or reed: it is used phonetically with *katsute mo shiranu*, certainly unknown, or know not.

IV. Ominaheshi, Saki saha ni ofuru, hanakatsumi, katsute-mo shiranu, kohi mo suru ka mo.

Love before unknown now surely possesses me! The *jo* to *katsute* merely brings in the m.k. *katsu* (*mi*)—*katsu* (*te*)—and means, the *hanakatsumi* that grows in Saki's marshland where the *ominaheshi* bloometh (*saki*). The *ominaheshi* is *Fatrinia Scabaeosaefolia.*

Hanezu-noiro (翼詐色). The script is *kariji.* The *mana* is 糧. Used with *utsurohi yasuki*, easy of transference or change. *Hanezu* is the garden-plum (*Prunus japonica*).

IV. Omohazhi to, ihiteshi mono wo, hanezuiro no, utsurohi-yasuki, waga kokoro ka mo.

I said I would not love, but I find my heart as easy of impression as the garden plum-blossom's tints.

Haru-hana-no, like spring blossoms. Used with *tafutoki*, fine, excellent, lovely; *utsurohi kahari*, fade and change, as the tints of flowers; *ya medzurashiki*, very lovely, handsome; *nihohi sakayete*, fragrant and blooming, bright and blooming; *sakari*, bloom, blossom, flourish.

Haru-kasumi (春霞), the haze of spring-time. Used with Kasuga no sato, *kasuga* being written, spring day; with Winohe written 井上, but 井 is taken as 居, be, be in, on, etc., with *oho nishi 'mohaba.*

X. Makimuku no, Hihara ni tateru, harukasumi, oho ni shi 'mohaba, nadzumi-kome ya mo.

As I ponder gloomily, never methinks will he struggle so far to meet me, yet he will come—the *jo* introduces 'dimly,' 'gloomily,' as though wrapped in a spring mist rising upon Hihara in Makimuku.

Haru-kazeno, like a wind of spring, used with *oto*, sound (*fig.*: news).

IV. Harukazeno, oto ni shi denaba, arisarite, ima narazu tomo, kimi ga manimani.

'Tis on the winds of spring that she should be mine, he saith, if not now, yet I shall be his in due time.

Haru-kusa-no (春草), like spring herbs, used with *iya medzurashi*, very lovely, delightful; *shigeki waga kohi*, abounding my love.

X. Harukusano, shigeki waga kohi, oho umi no, he ni yoru nami no, chihe ni tsumorinu.

Abounding my love as herbs leafy in spring, a thousand fold it increaseth like the tale of the waves that roll in upon the shore of the great sea.

Haru-kusa-wo, spring-grass which—*uma kuhi*, horses eat.

IX. Harukusawo, Umakuhi yama yo, koye ku naru, kari ga tsukahi ha, yadori sugu nari.

O'er Umakuhi's hill, where horses on spring herbs feed, the wild geese come flying, but no message bring they me, alas, for they pass on, afar to seek lodging. He is far away from City-Royal and would hear news of his home, but the wild geese mind him not, they seek their own home. Umakuhi is a hill in Yamashiro.

Haru-tori-no, wild-fowl in spring, used with *samayohi*.

II. chôka 24 ..... *harutorino, samayohinuredo* ..... ; though they wandered about like birds that fly round and round in spring time; with *ne nomi naki tsutsu*, while lamenting and wailing as wild fowl filling the air with their cries in spring.

Haru-yama-no, like the hills in spring, used with *shinahe sakahe*, sway in leaf and blossom; with *obotsuku naku mo*.

VIII. Midzutorino, kamo no ha no iro no, haruyama no, obotsukunaku mo, omohoyuru ka mo.

The meaning seems to be—My thoughts are gloomy (*obotsukunaku*), belike, as in the spring time the hills are gloomy under grey mists, grey as the plumage of the water-haunting wild-duck. He is away from his love.

Haru-yanagi, spring willow, used with Kadzuraki yama, and with *kadzura ni orishi*, pluck for chaplets, *kadzura* is a chaplet of green twigs, blossoms, seaweed, etc.

Hashi-mukafu (箸 向), paired chopsticks, used with *oto*, younger brother, as paired with *ani*, elder brother, or, possibly, *hashi* may be 橋, a bridge, which connects opposite banks, or again 愛, mutually affectionate, as brothers should be.

Hashi-tate-no (橋 立), like ladder set up. Used with Kurahashi (yama, kaha), either phonetically (*hashi-hashi*), or in connexion with *kura*, godown, for which ladders would be needed; with Kumaki, perhaps as resembling *kumiki*, a scaffolding (where ladders or steps would be wanted). See k. lxx (with *kurahashi*) and N. 2166 (with *sakashiki*, steep).

Hatsu-har a-no, like opening blossoms, used with *chirubeki*.

IV. Hatsuhanano, chirubeki mono wo, hitogoto no shigeki ni yorite, yodomu koro ka mo.

Things frail are opening blossoms, and soon are fallen, and many are the rumours of the world, am I to believe them? The allusion is to reports that his beloved is to be given away from him—rumours are as thick as fallen blossoms.

Hata-susuki, a grass, *Miscanthus sinensis*. Used with *ho*, ear (of grain), and as under.

X. Waginokoni, Afusaka yama ni, hatasusuki, ho ni ha sakidezu, kohi-wataru ka mo.

Like the tall moor-grass not yet in ear, that groweth on Afusaka's hill, whose name mindeth of meeting with one's beloved, must my love remain, alas, fruitless (or unknown).

XIV. Nihimurono, ko-doki ni itareba, hatasusuki, ho ni deshi kimi ga, miyenu konogoro.

As the time of caring for the young silkworms in their new shelter has come, my lord cannot now let the love of his heart be known, ripe as the tall moor-grass in ear; and for a while I may not see him (both lovers are too busy with tending the worms).

III. Hatasusuki, kume no wakugo ga, imashikemu, Miho no ihaya ha, are ni keru ka mo.

All desolate now the cave of Miho where famous of old for the young hero of the *kume-be* (warrior-guild). The m.k. is applied to *ho* of *Miho* (in Kii).

XIV. Kano koro to, nezu ya narinamu, hatasusuki, Uranu no yama ni, tsuki katayoru mo.

Must it be that I may not visit her, now that the moon is sinking behind Uranu's hill? (He is waiting for his chance when darkness shall give it.) The m.k. applies to Ura (nu) *ura=ure.*

Haya-kaha-no (速川), like a swift stream. Used with *yukuhe*, course, course of life. Lay 157, *yukuhe mo shirazu*, unknowing what course of life shall be mine. The m.k. compares the course of life to that of a swift stream.

Hikaru-kami (光神), the flashing god, thunder and lightning, epithet of Narihata wotome, the girl Narihata, whose name tells of flashing (*hikaru*) peal (*hata*) and roll (*nari*).

Hiku-ami-no (牽留鳥), *kariji*, in *mana* 引網, like a draw-net. Used with *nadzusahi komu*, come floating in. But *nihotorino* (q.v.) may be the true reading of this m.k. See III. *Chôka* 48.

Himo-kagami (紐鏡), cord-hung mirror (metal), used with Notoka no yama (locality unknown).

XI. Himokagami, Notoka no yama ha, taga yuwe so, kimi kimaseru ni, himo akezu nemu.

Notoka's hill—Never—loose hill—for whom speaketh the name—not surely for thee, when thou comest to me, shall my love be refused fast-bound! Notoka is regarded as=*na toki so*, loose not, and the m.k.—mirror whose cord (must not be undone)—is applied accordingly.

Himo-no-wo-no (紐緒), cords that fasten a vestment, used with *kokoro, itsugari-ahite.*

XII. Nani yuwe ka, omohazu aramu, himonowono, kokoro ni irite, kohishiki mono wo.

Why should I not think of thee with love? are we not as the twain cords that bind a vestment?

XIX. Chôka 230.....*himonowo, i-tsugarite*..... .
binding (him) to her as vestment cords bind one's raiment.

Hinakumori.

XX. Hinakumori, Usuhi no saka wo, koyeshi dani, imo ga kohishiku, wasurayenu ka mo.

Though the frontier pass I cross be called Usuhi, yet shall I not forget my love for thee. The m.k.=*hita kugamori*=condense, as water into ice, hence the application to Usuhi as 薄 氷, thin ice. But a simpler explanation, surely, is *hitakumori*, cloudy, as epithet of Usuhi=薄 日, dimly radiant sun.

Hi-no-moto-no (日 本), sunsource, orient, an epithet of Yamato; in fact, a translation of Nippon.

Hisa-kata-no (久 堅, 方), *kariji* probably. Used with *ame, ama,* sky, heaven; *ame,* rain; *tsuki,* moon; *miyako,* City-Royal. Very different explanations are given of this difficult m.k. The one I prefer is *hi* 日, *sashi* 刺, *kata* 方, where the sun shines, sunbright, sunlit. Other guesses are *hisa* (*gu*), *katsu* (*ma*), a sort of Buddhist basket carried in the hand; *hi saka-tari* 日 榮 足, sunbrilliant, full-radiant; *hisa* (*go*) 瓠 *kata* 形; gourd-shaped (as the domed sky is), and *hisa,* long, *kata* hard, firm and enduring.

IV. Amatsutsumi, tsune sesu kimi ha, hisakatano, kiso no ame ni, yori ni kemu ka mo.

Will not then my lord, who loves to keep house when skies are threatening, have been kept from me by yesternight's storm (that is, won't he visit her). Here the m.k. is used with *ame* (rain) as homophon of *ame* (heaven, sky).

XII. Hisa aramu, kimi wo omofu ni, hisakatano, kiyoki tsukuyomo, yami nomi ni miyu.

As I think of my lord to be so long away from me, it is as though darkness had just fallen upon a moonlit radiant night.

XIII. Hisakatano, miyako wo okite, kusamakura, tabi yuku kimi ha, itsu to ka matamu.

How long must I wait to see my lord who hath now gone from

sun-bright City-Royal, and fareth far as travellers fare reposing nightly on pillow of reeds? The above follows a *tanka* to Lay 146 but is really an independent *tanka*. See also K. xxvii., and N. 2160.

Hotaru-nasu (螢成), firefly-like. Used with *honoka* (*ni kikite*), scarcely hearing, as uncertainly as fluttering fireflies are seen by night.

Hototogisu, the *hototo* singer, i.e., the cuckoo (*Cuculus poliocephalus*). Used with Tobata no ura—*tobu*=to fly;

X. Haru sareba, sugaru naku nu no, hototogisu, hotohoto imo ni, ahazu ki ni keri.

It seemed almost that I should go back, alas, without seeing my love! The m.k. is here merely phonetic—*hototo*—*hototo*, almost, probably, and is introduced by the following preface—(the cuckoo) that haunts the moor-side where the wasps buzz after spring hath departed (i.e., in summer when wasps are heard and the Japanese cuckoo is the dominant bird—in poetry at least).

Iha-hashi-no (石橋), rock-bridge, either stepping-stones, or logs or planks laid across rocks or stones in a stream. Used with *ma-jikaki* (close-placed), also with *tohoki*.

IV. Utsusemino, hito me wo shigemi, ihabashino, ma-jikaki kimi ni, kohi wataru ka mo.

We are as neighboured as stepping-stones and many are the eyes of mortal men, love hardly dare we, my lord and I.

XI. Asuka kaha, asu mo wataramu, ihabashino, tohoki kokoro ha, omohoyenu ka mo.

I did not think our hearts would be so long divided, alas! as even the stepping-stones that on the morrow shall bear me from thee across Asuka's waters. Here the m.k. is applied to the whole of the concluding couplet. Possibly the first *ku* is a phonetic m.k. of *asu*.

Iha-bashiru (石流) in rocky channel flowing. Used with Tarumi (a place in Settsu), *tagi*, rapids; with Afumi, Kamunabi.

VIII. Ihabashiru, Tarumi no uhe no, sawarabi no, moye-dzuru haru ni, nari ni keru ka mo.

Spring hath come, belike, showing the new greenery of the bracken fern, above Tarumi, of rocky flow. Tarumi=falling water. With *tagi* the use is similar; with Afumi it implies the meaning of *afu* (*reru*) *midzu*, overflowing waters. Of the latter use there are various other explanations. With Kamunabi the use is explained by reference to *kamu* (*kami*) in *kaminari*, god-roar, i.e., thunder—thunder of rocky streams.

Iwa-fuchi-no (石淵), like a pool in a river-course. Used with *komorite*, conceal, seclude.

XI. Kamunabi no, wori tamu kuma no, ihafuchino, komorite nomi ya, waga kohi aramu.

How long must I conceal my love as the river pool is secluded by a fence of stone where the road winds to Kamunabi?

Ihahonasu (巌成), used with *tokiha*.

VI. Harukusa ha, ncchi ha chiriyasushi, ihahonasu, tokiha ni imase, tafutoki aga kimi.

Soon are the herbs of spring scattered and gone, but, excellent my lord, mayest thou endure as long the living rock shall be.

Ihaho-suge (石穂菅), *Carex stenantha*. Used as Suganone (q.v.) with *nemokoro* firmly, constantly (as if *ihaho-sugeno ne* (根). *Ne-mokoro*=root-like, rootedly.

Ihakuyeno, in *mana* script 石崩, rock-crumbling. The m.k. is phonetic—*kuye*—*kuye*.

XIV. Kamakura no, Mikoshi no saki no, ihakuyeno, kimi ga kuyubeki, kokoro ha motazhi.

Let my lord not fail (with doubt of my love) as crumble the cliffs of cape Mikoshi by Kamakura under the waves of the sea cape of Mikoshi in Kamakura.

Iha-tsuna-no (石綱), like rock-rope (*Hedera helix*), the common ivy, or a wild vine (*Parthenocissus cuspidata*). Used with *wochi-kaheri*, return, either the coils of the creeper on themselves, or, in time, season after season); with *hahe* creep.

VI. Ihatsunano, mata wochi-kaheri, awoniyoshi, Nara no miyako wo, mata minamu ka mo.

Should the days of my youth return to me and I be young again, as the creeper returns upon itself, should I even then live long enough to see well-laid Nara in all its pristine glory renewed? This paraphrase gives what appears to be the real meaning of this obscure *tanka*. The wild vine (*Parthenocissus*) affords a more exact rendering, perhaps, than 'ivy,' which is, according to Prof. Matsumura, rather *kidzuta* than simple *tsuta*.

XII. Tani sebami, mine he ni haheru, ihatsunano, hahete shi areba, toshi no kozu to mo.

Like the ivy (wild-vine?) that climbeth from narrow valleys to lofty peaks with never a break shall our mutual love prove constant, even if for a whole year we met not.

Iha-wi-tsura (*i-hahi*), some sort of slender trailer, or climber.

XIV. Irimaji no, Ohoya ga hara no, ihawitsura, hikaba nurunuru, wa ni na tahe so ne.

Thou holdest me by withes of love, tender as the slender creeper that coils o'er the plain of Ohoya on the Irima road; I pray thee bear gently on them, nor cease to love me!

Ihe-tsu-tori, the house-bird, the cock (*kake*) of which the m.k. is an epithet.

Iho-he-nami (五百野浪), five-hundred (innumerable) lines of waves. Used with *tachite wite*, up and down, standing sitting, starting staying (i.e., continually), so the innumerable waves of the sea are incessantly advancing, retiring, rising, falling, etc.

I-me-hito-no (射目人). Used with Fushimi pl. n.; *imehito* are archers posted to crouch (*fushi*) and watch (*mi*) the game.

I-me-tachite (射目立), the starting (or posting) of bow-armed beaters or trackers to rouse and watch the game. Hence

applied to Tomi no woka pl. n. *to-mi*=(*a*)*to mi*, to trail-track.

Imo-ga-himo (妹 紐), my love's (mantle) cords. Used with *yufu*, *musubu*, tie, knot, and *toku*, untie, unloose.

X. Imogahimo, toku to musubu to, Tatsuta yama, imà koso momiji, hazhimetari keme.

On Tatsuta's hill already are seen the earliest glows of autumn; The *jo* to Tatsuta, taken as *tatsu*, start on a journey, is a word play—girding or ungirding for starting on a journey (i. e., arranging one's dress in traveller's trim); *imogahimo* " my love's vestment-cords," minding of the process.

Imo-ga-ihe-ni (妹 家), to my love's dwelling-place. Used with Ikuri no mori, grove (with shrine) of Ikuri. The application is to *iku*,=*yuku*, go to, the verb being completed into a phrase by the m. k.

Imo-ga-kado (妹 門), my love's dwelling. Used with Iriidzumi gaha (river-name), *iri-idzu* (入 出)=go in, out. Complementary m. k. like the last.

Imo-ga-me-wo (妹 目), my love's eye (for person, form).

VIII. Imogamewo, Tomi no saki naru, akihagi ha, kono tsuki goro ha, chiri kosu na yume.

O bush clover of autumn that groweth on Tomi's hill, shall I not soon see my love, therefore let not your blossoms fall and scatter just this month, I pray you. The m. k. is read with *tomi* as=*to*(*ku*) *mi*(*ru*), *imogamewo tokumiru—saki* is error for *woka*.....

XII. Imogamewo, mimaku Hori ye ..... *imogamewo mimaku* is a sort of *jo* to Horiye, *hori* meaning to love. Horiye, ,artificial waterway, dug-out channel, is a place-name—Horiye that mindeth me of my love whom I would fain see .....

Imo-ga-keru, my love weareth ..... used with Mikasa Hill—*Mi kasa* meaning a fine hat. Mikasa Hill, whose name mindeth me of the fine hat my love weareth.

Imo(ra)gari(to) (妹 許), where my love is, used with Imaki pl. n. read as 今 來

X. Imogarito, uma ni kura okite, Ikoma yama, uchikoye kureba, momiji chiritsutsu.

Saddling my horse I cross Ikoma's hill, where already the autumn leaves lie ruddy on the ground. The m. k. here goes with Ikoma, out of which *yuku* (*iku*) is extracted to complete the phrase *imogarito yuku*, towards where my love is fare I.

Imo-ga-sode, my love's sleeve, used with Makimuku (hill-name)—*imogasode, makimuku*..... roll up or back my love's sleeve (or, rather, entwine my love's sleeves with mine).

Ina-mushiro (稻 筵), mat made of rice straw. Used with *kaha*, river, as homophon of *kaha*, skins, anciently used instead of matting.

XII. Tamakokono, michi yuki tsukare, inamushiro, shikite mo kimi wo, minu yoshi mo ga mo.

The gist of this *tanka* (the concluding couplet) is, "O that again and again I might see thee"; the *jo* is—tired of travel and spreading a mat (to rest on) by the spear-way's road side—and the m. k. is applied to *shikite* (spreading) as homophon of *shikite, shikushiku*, again and again. See also N 2475.

Ina-no-me-no (稻 目), for *ina no mure no.*

X. Akimimaku, akitaranedomo, inanomeno, ake yuki ni keri, funade semu imo!

Though I cannot see thee to my desire, yet now red dawn showeth, ruddy as ripening rice-field (*inanomeno*), and I must leave thee to fare over the sea, my love!

Inu-zhi-mono, dog-like, used with the phrase *michi ni fushi*, lie down by the road-side.

V. chôka 66 ..... *inuzhimono, michi ni fushite ya, inochi suginamu*, lying down by the way-side like a dog and letting my life end.

Iri-hi-nasu (入 日 成), like setting sun, used with *kakuri*, hide, be hidden, pass from sight.

Isana-tori (鯨 魚 取), where men catch great fish (whales), used with *umi* sea; *hama* strand, and the place-names Hijiki no nada (offing of Hijiki, and Afumi no umi, sea, i.e., lake of Omi (Biwa). See Lays 16, 19, 30, 40, 78, 93.
The whale was a coveted source of food, and the flesh is still eaten on some coasts of Japan. *Isa*=great, and *na* is an old word for 'fish' (compare *sakana*).

Ishitabuya (石 飛). See K. iii where the m. k., explained in the Kotoba no Izumi as *ishi no tobu ga gotoki*, is used with *ama hase tsukahi*, sky-swift herald, swift as a flying stone. The explanation does not remove the obscurity.

Isayakaha (不 知 也), phonetic m.k. of *isa*, not so, no.

XI. Inukami no, Tokonoyama naru, Isaya kaha, isa to wo kikose, waga na norasane.

Say 'tis not so (i.e., hold our love secret), nor utter my name, I pray thee, as yon Isaya bids thee, that flows by Toko's hill in Inukami.

Iso-kahi-no (磯 貝), like shore-shell, used with *kata-kohi*, unmated, lonely love (when one is absent of the pair)—like the solitary valve of an empty shell.

Iso-matsu-no (磯 松), like shore (fringing) pine, used with *tsune*, ever.

XX. Hashikeyoshi, kefu no aroshi ha, isomatsu no, tsune ni imasane, ima mo miru goto.

May our excellent host of to-day be long lived as the shore pine and remain for many a day as we now see him.

Iso-no-kami (石 上), a place-name used with Furu (*furu*).

IV. Isonokami, Furu to mo ame ni, tsutsumame ya, imo ni ahamu to, ihite shi mono wo!

Shall the rain that rains down from the sky hinder me? Nay, I have promised to meet her. Here Furu is a place in Isonokami, it is also homophonous with *furu*, to pour, fall (as rain, snow, etc.,). See N. 2470, 2549.

I-yuki-ahi-no (身 行 相), despite the script *i* is merely a verbal prefix. The meaning is—the meeting of travellers

going and returning (from and to City-Royal). Used with *saka*, hill-pass.

IX. Iyukiahino, saka no fumoto ni, saki woworu, sakura no hana wo, misemu ko mo ga mo.

Would she were with me, my love, that I might show her the wealth of blossoms on the wild cherry trees that cluster at the foot of this (Tatsuta) pass, where ever wayfarers meet forthgoing and home-returning.

Iyu-shishi-no, like wounded deer, used with *kokorowo-itamu*, heart-stricken, and as under.

XIII. chôka 196 ..... *iyushishino, yuki mo shinamu to, omohedomo* ..... though I think, I shall die like a wounded hart as it wanders on.....

Isu-kuhashi (勇 細). See K. x and N. 1132—*isuku-hashi, kujira sayari* (a snare set to catch a woodcock) has caught a mighty whale (i.e. a foe deemed weak has been found strong). In brief, the phrase resembles 'caught a Tartar.'

Kadzu-no-ki-no (*kajinoki*), the *Broussonetia* or paper mulberry.

XIV. Ashigari no, [*wa wo*] *Kakeyama no, kadzunokino, wa wo kadzusane mo, kadzusakazu to mo.*

Of this *tanka* only a more or less conjectural version is attainable—if you love me, take me, however hard the task, take me. In the first two *ku*, 'if you love me' is implied by word play—*wa wo kake* (*omohi*), love me—, while the m.k. is used phonetically with *kadzusane, kadzusakazu* (=*kadowakasu*, abduct, elope with). The *kake* is extracted from the hill-name Kake (in Ashigari).

Kadzura-gake, an old name of Lycopodium clavatum, a ritual plant, therefore proper as a *homegotoba*. It is used, accordingly, with *kaguhashi kimi*, my very elegant lord, with whom I fall in love at first sight (*mi-someru*).

Kahadzu-naku (河 蝦 鳴), murmur of frogs, but 蝦 is *gama*, toad. Used as descriptive *homegotoba* with Idzumi (a village name) and Kamunabi, Mutsuta and Yoshinu (river-names).

Kaha-yagi-no (川楊), river-willow. Used with *ne-mokoro* (*nengoro*), *ne* taken as *ne* (根).

Kagami-nasu (鏡成), mirror-like, i. e., bright, precious (mirrors being much valued in ancient Japan). Used with the syllable *mi* as *mi* 見, see, in Mitsu (name of a strand); also with *aga 'mofu imo*, my treasured girl whom I love, and as under.

XVIII chôka 233 ..... *kagaminasu, kaku shi tsure mimu, omokaharisezu* ..... and so without change of countenance (in unaltered health) would I fain ever see him as one sees each morn the bedside mirror.

Kagirohino (玉限 for 蜻, 玉蜻, 蜻火, 珠蜻, 炎, 蜻蛉). *Kagirohi*, as the scripts show, is an old name for *seirei* or *tombo*, dragon fly, but probably it is merely a lengthened form of *kagiru* or *kageru* (comp. *chiri, chirahi; tsukuri tsukurohi, utsuri utsurohi*) connected with *kage*, shiningness. It may be taken as meaning shining, dazzling, glowing, glittering, gleaming, etc., As m. k. it is *homegotoba* of *yufu* evening; *iha* (—*kaki—fuchi*) rock, as containing the seeds of flame, shown when steel-struck; *honoka*, dimly, shimmeringly; *haru*, spring; *kokoro moyetsu*, heart a-flame; *tada hito me nomi*, only a glance at; *hi*, sun, day.

X. Imasara ni, yuki furame ya mo, kagirohino, moyuru haruye to, nari ni shi mono wo!

Is this again a fall of snow? Is not the radiant glow of spring time now with us! See Lays 12, 28, 92, 123; also K. lxxvi, and *tamakagiru* infra.

Kaji-no-oto-no, like sound of oar (or scull). Used with *tsubara tsubara*, clearly, distinctly, as splash of oar.

Kaki-ho-nasu (垣保成), fenced off.

IX. chôka 120, *tanka; kakihonasu, hito no yokogoto, shigemi ka mo, ahanu hi maneku, tsuku mo henuramu.* By fence of multitudinous slanders are we kept apart, and now many the months, and many the days do we meet not alas!

Kaki-hiku-ya, strike and play (the lute or harp), used

with the pl. n. Yura no to, read as *yura no oto*, soft or tinkling sound. See K. lxxiv. N. 1269.

Kaki-kazofu, count, enumerate. Used with Futagami, Twain Peak (or Twain God) Hill—*futa* is 'two' hence *kaki-kazofu, Futagami yama*—may be rendered The Hill of (as one counts one, two) Two Peaks.

Kaki-koyuru (垣越) to pass, cross the house-fence, used with *inu*—a mere verbal epithet of which the value is not very apparent. Perhaps *koyuru* is assimilated to *hoyuru*, bark.

VII. Kakikoyuru, inu yobi kosete, togari suru kimi, awo-yama no, ha shigeki yama he, uma yasume kimi.

My lord has called his dogs and ta'en them with him to shoot game on Awoyama (or on the green hills). Oh, let my lord halt his horse by the hill-side, for the woods are thick and dark—(and so dangerous for horsemen).

Kaki-tsubata (垣津旗), the script is *kariji*. The *Iris laevigata*, used with *nidzurafu*, be ruddy-hued; *saki*, bloom. This Iris is known as *kahobana* (fair) face flower.

Kako-zhi-mono (鹿兒自物), like the young of the deer. Used with *aga hitori ko* (XX. 262), my only child, one only, as hart is sire of one only.

Kamo-zhi-mono (鴨自物), like wild-duck.

I. chôka 13 ..... *kamozhimono, midzu ni uki-wite* .... like wild duck floating on the water.

Kamu-kaze-no, of divine wind (influence), used of Ise where the chief gods have their seat.

XIII. chôka 172 ..... *kamukazeno, Ise no umi no* ..... of the sea of divine-breathed Ise (i. e., god-dominated, impregnated) Another explanation of *kamukaze* is 神下瀬 where 瀬 is *kariji* for *se=bu*, *kami kudari se—kudari* contracted into *ka*, place where the gods alighted when they came down from heaven. See also K. xiv. N. 1161, 2387.

Kara-kaji-no (柄楫), *Karakaji* appears to mean a scull (oar or paddle?) with handle—or perhaps *kara* simply

means Korean (or Chinese). The m.k. is used with *oto* sound, in allusion to the splash of the oar. Kara (gara) may also be the *kara* of *karakasu, karausu.*

Kara-koromo (韓衣), Korean (style of) vestment. Used with Kinara (*kinarasu*=put on, wear); Tatsuta (*tatsu*—cut out, shape a garment); and *suso no ahazute.*

XI. Asakage ni, aga mi ha narinu, karagoromo, suso no ahazute, hisashiku nareba.

I am become as the shadow of the morning, for long it is since I met thee (*ahazu*)—'tis as though the folds of a Korean vestment (worn at court) were not drawn together (*ahazu*).

Kariganeno, *karigane=kari,* wild goose, *kari ga ne*= the cry of the wild-goose. Its use with *ki-tsugi.*

VI. chôka 84 ..... *kariganeno, kitsugi kono goro* .... is not clear. The passage itself is probably corrupt. Taking it as it is, perhaps the best meaning is, now when the wild-geese come—or then scream is heard—in successive flocks.

Kari-komo-no (苅薦), like confusedly fallen masses of reaped reeds, used with *midaru* (disordered); *kokoro mo shinu ni,* my heart yielding as reed haulm (to sickle).

XI. Imo ga tame, inochi nokoseri, karikomono, omohi-midarete, shinubeki mono wo!

I live but for my love, I am like to die as love—entangled as reed-haulms bound in sheaves (for mats, roofs, fences, etc.)

XIII. chôka 148.....*karikomono, kokoro mo shinu ni* ..... my heart all yielding as reed to the sickle. See also K. lxxix where the sense seems to be—however the hail may rattle among the dwarf bamboos, after I shall have embraced her let men plot as they may, fine indeed was my embracing of her as I embraced her, as we lay together, entangled (entwined) as reaped reeds for mats are in their sheaves, as embracing her I embraced her.

Kashi-no-mi-no (樫實), like oak acorn. Used with *hitori* alone, as the acorn is, never being found triple as the

chestnut is. See *XI. chôka* 106 ..... *kashinomino, hitori ka nuramu*.....lonely as solitary acorn shall I sleep alone.....

Kasumi-tatsu (霞立), where mist (or haze) rises. Used phonetically with Kasuga no sato—*Kasuga* is written 春日, spring-day, when mists are common.

Kata-mohi-no (片埦), like open (lidless) jar. Used with *soko*, bottom, extreme.

IV. Omohiyaru, sube mo shiraneba, katamohino, soko ni so are ha, kohi nari ni keri.

I cannot chase away my love which—or so deep is my love that t—is become measureless and I know not what to do—*soko*, bottom, implies 'measureless,' and the m.k. gives the word a concrete sense to aid the metaphor.

Kaze-no-'to-no, sound of the wind, used with *tohoki*, distant—*Kazenotono, tohoki wagimo*, my love far from me as the wind may be heard; the sound of the wind being heard at great distance.

Ke-koromo-wo, fur—or feather—made garments worn when hunting &c. Used with *haru* (春), spring, as homophonous with *haru* (張), to stretch skins for making garments—perhaps simply, 春, because such garments were worn in spring (and winter) as hunting seasons.

Kefu-kefu-to (今日今日), today today, used with Asuka pl. n. *asu*=tomorrow (the morrow which in turn becomes to-day).

Kimi-ga-ihe-ni (君家), in, or to, my lord's house. Complementary m.k. of Sumisaka (pass of Sumi)—*Sumi*=住, to dwell in.

IV. Kimigaiheni, aga Sumisaka no, ihe-ji wo mo, are ha wasurezhi, inochi shinazu ha.

Never till I die shall I forget the way to my lord's house that leadeth by Sumi's pass—minding me of sojourning (*Sumi*) under my lord's roof. Addressed to Hitomaro by his wife.

Kimi-ga-keru (君服), what my lord wears. Used with Mikasa no yama, the hill Mikasa—*mi-kasa*=royal or fine hat.

XI. Kimigakeru, Mikasa no yama ni, wiru kumo no, tateba tsugareru, kohi mo suru ka mo.

Ever mist after mist lieth on Mikasa's hill—of royal canopy minding—shall our love be so?

Kimo-mukafu (肝向), fronting the liver (*jecur*). Used with *kokoro*, heart (=chief of the five viscera).

II. chôka 17 ..... *kimomutafu, kokoro wo itami* .... Sorrowful my heart chief of my life organs. So, too, K. lx.

Mimoro no, sono Takaki naru, Ohowiko ga hara, Ohowiko ga, hara ni aru, kimomukafu, kokoro wo dani, ahi mohazaramu.

Shall my heart not be full of tender thoughts of thee (thou that dwellest) on the Plain of Ohowiko by yonder Takaki in Mimoro, the plain (*hara*) of Ohowiko that mindeth of the *hara* (interior of body) where lieth my heart fronting the five organs of life (or the liver only)?

Koma-tsurugi (狛劍), Koma (Korean) straight two-edged sword. The hilt had a ring (*wa*) at the end, hence the phonetic use of the m. k. with the pl. n. Wazami ga hara.

XII. chôka 24 ..... *komatsurugi, Wazami ga hara* ... . So in.

XII. Komatsurugi, waga kokoro yuwe, yoso nomi ni, mitsutsu ga kimi wo, kohiwatarinamu.

'Twas my heart spoke, I scarcely saw thee, yet ever since have I loved thee.—Here the m. k. is a mere verbal ornament to the syllable *wa* of *waga kokoro*. The translation is somewhat conjectural.

Kamo-makura (薦枕), a pillow of reeds, used with *ahi-makishi ko*.

VII. Komomakura, ahi-makishi ko mo, areba koso, yo nò fukuraku mo, aga woshimi seme.

Were my love still living, still should I know the misery of the waning night (when he would have to leave her).

The m. k. is used with *ahi-makishi*, embrace, or roll up (as reeds to make a pillow). In N. 2549 (*chôka*) the m. k. is

applied to the pl. n. Takahashi, *taka* being regarded as homophon of *taku=tsukanu*, to bind together (as sheaf, roll).

Komoriku-no (隱口), used descriptively with Hatsuse (pl. n.). Various explanations are given of this m. k; *komorikuni*, secluded, hill-surrounded land; *komoriku*, where *ku=tokoro; ko* (木) *mori* (盛) *ku* (tokoro=*ko tachi shigeku mori*, where trees are standing in thick abundance. Hatsuse might be *ha*, leaf, *tsu*, genitive post-position, *se=ba* place—leafy, i. e., wooded tract. See K lxxxviii, lxxxix. N. 2346, 2603.

Komorinuno (隱沼). If the script be *mana* the meaning is, hidden pool or swamp (under overgrowth of reeds?). The m. k. is used with *shita* as=*ura*, inwardly, deeply; and with *mizu hisa ni shite*.

IX. chôka 125 ..... *komorinuno, shitabahe okite, uchinageki* ..... lying low as a reedy pool she broke into weeping.

XIV. Ajinosumu, Susa no iriye no, komorinuno, ana ikidzukashi, mizu hisa ni shite.

Scarcely can I draw breath for grief for that so long hast thou been hidden from (unseen by) me—hidden like the reedy swamp of Susa by wild-fowl haunted.

Komo-tatami (薦疊), *komo* reed-matting. Used with *Heguri, he* being taken as *he*, layer, fold, piece.

XVI. Idzuku so, ma soho horu woka, komotatami, Heguri no Aso ga, hana no he wo hore.

Would you learn where to find a hill whence to get good red ochre (for colouring Buddhas, ships, etc.,), dig deep in Heguri no Aso's great nose.

Heguri no aso was not a *geko* (teetotaller), but had a *zakurobana* (pomegranate nose). He coloured it between A. D. 729 and 765.

Ko-no-kure-no (木暗晩), shadowy trees, i. e., when trees in full leaf and blossom give a deep shade. Used with *u no tsuki*, hare, or fourth month, by which time the trees are in full foliage; also with *shigeki-omohi*.

XIX. chôka 245 ..... *konokureno, shigeki omohi wo, ni akirame* ..... clear away crowded cares, thick as the leafage of full-foliaged trees.

Kora-ga-te-wo (兒等手), a girl's hand, used with Makimuku (hill-name), *maki* meaning to clasp.

VII. Koragatewo, Makimuku yama ha, tsune ni aredo, suginishi hito ni, yuki makame ya mo.

Ah, yonder still towereth Makimuku's hill, of a girl's hand-clasp minding, but shall I ever again clasp her's who hath passed away?

The m. k. is also used with Toroshi no ike (the pool of Toroshi) *toro* being regarded as homophonous with *toru* take, hold.

Koromo-te (衣手), sleeve of an outer vestment. Used with Hitachi (name of a province). The meaning of the application of this m. k. is not quite clear. Some say it involves an allusion to the story of a hero who on an expedition against Eastland rebels laved himself in a fount of pure water and so wet (*hitashi*) his sleeves. *Hita* may mean the fold or plait of a garment or sleeve, or be a contraction of *hitataki* (flutter fins, wings, or sleeves). Hitachi may also be explained as 日立, sun's rise; the usual script 常陸 gives no help.

Koromote-no, of a sleeve. Used with Tanakami (hill-name), either by assimilation of *te* and *ta* (both 手), or with *ta* as homophonous with *ta*, an intensitive prefix, *ta-naga*= very long, or with *na* as in the next instance; with Naki (river-name) where *na* is regarded as a contraction of *naga;* Takaya (in Yamato) where *taka* is said to be a contraction of *ta*(*he a*)*ka* for *akatahe*, shining fine stuff of which sleeves may have been made; Mawaka no ura (Bay of Mawaka) where *ma* is the εὖ of *ma-te, ma-sode, ma-kaji* etc., (implying fullness, completion)—*ma sode* = *ma-koromote; kaheru* as homophonous with *kaherugaheru*, again and again, waving sleeves again and again, as farewell or welcome. All these

explanations seem to us far-fetched enough, but the m. k. appealed to familiar experience, and their use is quite in accordance with the spirit, perhaps of later, rather than of primitive, Japanese *uta*.

Koromote-wo, used with *wori* (*tamu*) fold back, as in *Koromote wo woritamu no sato ni*, to the village approached by a path turned back on itself like the sleeve of a garment, i. e. a winding path; *ashige no uma*, reed-grey steed, *ashige* being regarded as=*osoki* (*osohi-ki*)=*uhagi* an over-vestment, of which, of course, sleeves are predicable. See also *IX. chôka* 110; *XIII. chôka* 157.

Koto-hiushi (牡牛). In the Wamyôshô this word is explained as=big-browed bull. It may mean *kokoda mono ohi ushi*, carrier of a great burden,—in China the bull is a symbol of strength as the horse of swiftness. The m. k. is used with Miyake no ura (Bay of Miyake), and Miyake is regarded as= *mika-ke*, abundant-haired. Compare the common expression 'one hair of nine bulls' (i. e., one in a million). Perhaps the real meaning is, sacrificial bull, and the m. k. is connected with Miyake through *mika-ke*. The connexion, however, on any of the above explanations is obscure enough.

Koto-kami-ni N. 2546. Written 琴頭, m. k., of *kiwiru* 來居, and *Kotokamini kiwiru* is a *jo* to *kage* (Kagehime), the appearance or presence of the deity at the head of the flat harp, (if the script be not *kariji* on being summoned by the *kami-yori ita*, god-assembling clapper board. The usual version of this *uta* does not seem to be quite correct.

Koto-saheku (*gu*), mumble, *baragouiner*. Used with Kara no Saki—Kara=Korea where people speak unintelligibly (i. e., to Japanese ears).

II. chôka 17, 24.

Kumori-yo-no (陰夜), clouded night, used with *tadoki mo shirazu*, helplessly, bewilderedly; *madoheru hodo ni* bewildered, dazed; *aga shitabahe*.

XIV. Ashigara no, mi saka kashikomi, kumoriyono, aga shitabahe wo, kochidetsuru ka mo.

Crossing the awful Pass of Ashigara in the darkness of night, I cannot refrain from calling upon my love from the depths of my heart.

Kumo-wi-nasu (雲居成), cloud-like, the *wi* is probably a mere suffix. Used with *tohoku*, distant; *kokoro isayohi*, heart swayed to and fro (like drifting clouds); *kokoro mo shinu m* heart yielding, as clouds to wind, etc.

Kurenawi-no (紅), scarlet or crimson colour. Used with *iro*, love, colour—scarlet being a specially bright colour,—with *utsushi kokoro*; with Asaha no nu-ra.

IV. Mono ihi no, kashikoki so, kurenawino, iro ni na ide so, omohi shinu to mo.

'Tis a terrible world this, for talk; even if dying of love let it not be seen in flush of face. Here *iro*, love, is epithetised 'scarlet' as *iro*, colour.

VII. Kochitakuha, kamo kamo semu, kurenawino, utsushi kokoro ya, imo ni ahazaramu.

Full of woe (*kotoitaku*), what to do, what to do I know not my heart is dyed pure red with love, yet am I not to meet my love? Here the m. k. as an *iro* is applied to *utsushi* as 寫, as though *utsushi kokoro* were written 顯心.

XI. Kurenawino, Asaha no nu-ra ni, karu kaya no, suka no ahida no, a wo wasurasuna.

Forget me not even for a time as short as any sheaf of reeds cut on the moors of Asaha—of light-tinted (*asa*) scarlet (*kurenawi*) minding.

Kusa-kage-no, grassy or reedy shade. Used with Arawi no saki (Cape Arawi) and Anu pl. n. The use of this m. k. is quite obscure. In the *Kotoba no Izumi* we find a guess connecting the expression with *ara* through *are*, waste, sterile, (as soil or plants under a thick jungle of reeds and grass). *Anu* would then=*a(re)nu*, and Arawi=*ara* (for *are*) *wi* (a sort of reed or rush).

Kusa-makura grass-pillow, used with *tabi*, wayfaring, *tako* (*tago*) hand-basket to hold food, borne by wayfarers.

XIV. Aga koki ha, masaka mo kanashi, kusamakura,
Tago no Irinu no, oku mo kanashi mo.

As to my love more and more sad shall I be, dear, till the depth of my woe shall be as the depth (remoteness) of the moor of Irinu in Tago—of wallet minding that travellers use who sleep on grassy pillows.

Kushiro-maku (釧著), or *kushiro tsuku*, wear, wind on arm armlet or bracelet. Used with Tafushi (name of a pass), *ta*=arm (or *tafushi*=forearm, or wrist?).

Kuzu-no-ne-no, like Pueraria root (or stem). Used with *iya-toho-naga ni*, to a far distant time (as the stems of the kuzu trail far and wide).

Ma-kane-mochi (眞鉄持), holding a right *kanna* (plane, or smoothing tool). Used with Yuge no kahara—*yu*(*mi ke*)*ge* (*zuru*), smooth or shape bow.

Ma-kana-fuku right metal-blow (smelt iron). Descriptive m. k. of Nifu (hill where iron ore was found).

Ma-ki-hashira right-wood-pillar, used with *futoki kokoro*, heart stout as a pillar, *ma ki* is *hinoki*, much used in construction.

Makisaku (眞木), *saku* may be, split (into balks, planks etc., for building), or *sakihafu*, favourable, fit for. Used with *hinoki*—wood right for splitting, or fit for (building purposes). See *I. chôka* 13; N. ii. 10.

Ma-ki-tatsu (眞木立), where right timber stands. Used with *arayama*, the wild hills, thick with *hi* trees.

Ma-ki-tsumu (積), where *hinoki* timber is collected, to float on rafts down the Idzumi river, of which the m. k. is a quasi-epithet.

Ma-komo-karu (眞薦苅), reap right rushes (i. e., for matting). Used with Ohonuhara, plain where rushes (for mats, etc.) are abundant.

Makura-dzuku (枕付), close-set pillows, used with

tsumaya, spousal hut, where the pillows would be placed close together.

Ma-kusa-karu right—(proper)—grass-reap, used with *ara-nu*.

I. Makusakaru, ara nu ni ha aredo, momijibano, suginishi kimi ha, katami to so koshi.

'Tis but a desolate moor where reeds and grasses are gathered. Yet thither go I in memory of my lord, who, perishing like the leaves of autumn, hath passed from this world. 'My lord' is Hinami no miko, who was wont to hunt on the moor.

Ma-kuzu-hafu (葛延), where *kuzu* trails, descriptive m. k. of Kusaga and Wonu pl. nn. The *kuzu* (Pueraria) is common on moor and mountain.

Managotsuchi (愛子地), the script is *kariji*. Used phonetically with *ma na* (*no*).

VII. Toyokuni no, Kiku no hama he no, managotsuchi, ma naho ni shi areba, ika de nagekamu.

The gist of this is—if my love should come (as promised) and that quickly, why should I lament (but will my love come)?—the *jo* to *managotsuchi* (seasands) read with it is—the seasands of the strand of Kiku in Toyokuni (Bungo), and the m. k. itself is applied phonetically to *ma naho—ma na*.

XII. Koromote no, ma Waka no ura no, managotsuchi, ma naku toki nashi, aga kofuraku ha.

My love knows no pause, short even as the interval between the grains of sand of the fine sands of the bay of Waka of parted sleeves reminding. Waka is in Kishiu.

Mashi-midzu-no (寒水), most excellent (cool) water, used with *kokoro no keya ni=isagiyoki kokoro*, heart fresh and pure as cool, sparkling water.

Ma-so-kagami (眞素鏡), right pure (bright) mirror, according to the script, but there are various modes of writing this m. k. Used with *mi* (*ru*), see, and compounds; *teru*, shine, and compounds; *kiyoki tsukuyo*, clear moonlit night; *togishi kokoro*, polished (i. e., bright, loyal) heart; *toko no he sarazu*,

not leaving the alcove (bed-place) where the mirror would be constantly hung up; *kakete*, hang up, but as used in its auxiliary sense, see *XIII. chôka* 151 and K. lxxxix; with Futagami yama read as *futa*, lid (of the mirror-case), see *XIX. chôka* 247; with *omokage*, face, figure, as seen in mirror (*kagemi*). See also *III. chôka* 32, *IV.* 59.

Ma-suge-yoshi (眞菅吉), the script *kariji* is partly *kariji* (吉), used phonetically with Soga no kahara—*suge-soga*.

Ma-sura-wo-no (丈夫), perhaps *masa-ara-wo*, right fierce man=hero. Used with Tayuhi no ura (Bay of Tayuhi), *Ta* being taken as=*ta*, hand, (of hero).

Ma-tama-do-no, like right fine arms (both), used with *tamade* fine arms, *VIII. chôka* 102 ..... *matamade no tamade sashikahe* ..... interlacing arms fine as fine arms.

Ma-tama-dzura (眞玉葛), right-fine-creeper. Used with *tayemu no kokoro*.

XII. Taniha (Tamba) ji no, Ohoye no yama no, mata-madzura, tayemu no kokoro, aga 'mohanaku ni.

I love thee with heart unfailing as the coils of the creeper on Ohoye's Tamba's track.

Matamiru-no like seaweed (Codium sp. ?), phonetic m. k. of *mata yuki kaheri*, again go and come.

Ma-tori-sumu right-bird-haunted. The m. k. is descriptive of Unate no mori; *ma-tori*=eagle.

VII. Matorisumu, Unate no mori no, suga no mi wo, kinu ni kakitsuke, kisemu mono ga mo.

Would she were here to put on me the mantle she hath patterned with the berry of the lily that grows in the eagle haunted grove of Unate: *suga* is described as *uyamasuge* (=*bakumondo*=Liriope graminifolia) and *kakitsuke* as *suritsuke* =rub in, dye.

Ma-tsuchi-yama (又打山, 亦打山), a hill in Yamato; the name is taken as=*mata uchi yama* (beat repeatedly), and is an imperfectly phonetic m. k. of *moto tsu kito*

(*mata-moto*), and a more perfect one of *matsuramu imo*, my love who will be expecting me.

XII. Tsurubamino, kinu toki arahi, Matsuchiyama, moto tsu hito ni ha, naho shikazu keri.

The concluding couplet is: He is as nought beside him I loved (i. e., having quarrelled with her old lover she is discontented with the new one). The *jo* to the m. k. is—Matsuchi hill minding of the many beatings of cleansed garments dyed with the dye of the oak (Q. Serrata).

Matsu-gaheri (松反), renewal of the Pine tree. The application of the m. k. to *shihi* is very obscure—perhaps it is to *matsu*, or the evergreenness of the pine may simply give emphasis.

IX. Matsugaheri, shihi nite are ya mo, mitsukurino, naka sugite kozu, matsu to ihe yako.

The meaning of this obscure *tanka* seems to be: Is it not a scandal for him to say I have sent him no message? Tell him, 'messenger,' that half the moon's course is over and still I await him. The lover had complained of not hearing from her—to which this *tanka* is an indignant answer. For *Mitsukurino* see *sub. voce.*

Matsu-kahe-no (松柏), pine and oak, both evergreen hence the m. k. is used with *sakaye*, flourish.

XIX. chôka 24 ..... *matsukaheno, sakaye imasane, tafutoki aga kimi*—may my honoured lord aye flourish, I pray, like those evergreen trees, the pine and live-oak.

Mayo-biki-no like painted eyebrow, used with *yoko*, in Yokoyama, the domed outline of which is regarded as resembling an artificial eyebrow.

Ma-wo-komo-no true—reed (or rush) mat. Used with *fu nomi chikakute.*

XIV. Mawokomono, fu nomi chikakute, ahanaheba, oki tsu ma kamo no, nageki so aga suru.

If I meet you not eye to eye as close as the reeds of a mat, I shall heave sighs deep as the long breathings of an ocean wild-fowl.

Matsu-ga-ne-no (松根), like pine root or trunk. Used with *toho, tohonaga, hisashi* as implying length or duration of time; so with *tayuru koto naku,* without end; *kimi ga kokoro ha,* (i. e., with *kokoro*).

XII. Kamusabite, ihaho ni ofuru, matsugancno, kimi ga kokoro ha, wasure kanetsu mo.

Surely none can ever forget the nobleness of my heart steadfast as a mountain.

Midzu-kaki-no (水垣), partly *kariji* script. *Midzu* is a *homegotoba* as in *midzu no mi araka,* written *mana* 瑞, and explained as *urahashiki kiyorakanaru* pure (holy) and beautiful. More fully written we have it as *midzumidzushi,* or with the *tsu* non-*nigoried.* It is used with *hisashiki toki yu.*

IV. Wotomeraga, Sodefuru yama no, midzukakino, hisashiki toki yu, omohiki ware ha.

The gist is given by the concluding couplet—for a long time have I loved you; the *jo* being—long as hath endured the noble (holy?) fence of the fane of Sodefuru yama (in Yamato) minding of the waving of sleeves (*sode furu*) by young maidens (*wotomeraga*).

XIII. (a *hanka* to *chôka* 150).

Midzukakino, hisashiki toki yu, kohi sureba, aga obi yurubu, asa yohi goto ni.

Long have I loved, and I am wasted with love so that every morning and evening I find my girdle too large for my poor body.

Midzu-kuki-no (水莖), *midzu=midzumidzushi.*

The m. k. is used with the pl. n. Midzuki, and also with Woka as=*woka,* knoll, regarded as *waka,* young, as a bright (green) stem (*kuki*) would be.

VII. Amagirahi, hikata fukurashi, midzukukino, Woka no minato ni, nami tachi wataru.

The southwest wind is blowing and the sky is darkening and the waves roll surging in the haven of Woka,—of young (*waka*) shining stems (of spring) reminding. Woka no minato is in

Chikuzen. There is also a place (in Ômi) called Midzukuki no Woka.

Midzu-tade (水蓼), There is a plant so-called, Polygonum flaccidum, but *midzu* may be merely a *homegotoba* of *tade*, the water-pepper. Used with Hodzumi (in Yamato)—*ho*, florescence, ear of grain, *tsumu*, to pluck—hence the application of this complementary m. k. *midzutade ho wo tsumu.*

Midzu-tamaru (水淳), where water collects, used with Ikeda, *ike* meaning a pool. The following curious *tanka* illustrates the application of the m. k.

XVI. Hotoke tsukuru, ma soho tarazuba, midzutamaru,
Ikeda no Aso ga, hana no he wo hore.

As right red-stuff lacks for your Buddha image, excavate Ikeda no Aso's flaming nose (pomegranate or 'groggy' nose). See also under *komotatami.*

Midzu-tori-no (水鳥), like water-fowl (or sea-bird). Used with *kamo*, wild-duck,—that water-fowl wild-duck; *ukine*, sleep while afloat; Awoha no yama—*awoha*=green (or dark) plumage, as of the wild duck—also, green foliage; *tachi no isogi*, hasty upflight, as of wild fowl in the early morning; *tatamu yosohi*, preen feathers when about to rise into the air.

VII. Namitakashi, ika ni kajitori, midzutorino, ukine
yasubeki, naho ya kogubeki.

How now, helmsman, the waves are high, let us rest the night here, sleeping afloat as the wild-fowl rest, we can well scull forth the morrow.

VIII. Aki no tsuyu ha, utsushi nari keri, midzutorino,
Awoha no yama no, iro-dzuku mireba.

The changing hues of the wooded slopes of Awoha—I see them in these prints of dewy autumn leaves upon woven cloths (apparently a diversion or accomplishment of the season). *Awoha* may mean either green or dark foliage or plumage.

XIV. Midzutorino, tatamu yosohi ni, imo no ra ni, mono ihazu ki nite, omoni kanetsu mo.

I cannot bear the sorrow as I make ready for departure while the wild-fowl preen them before taking their morning flight (complaint of a Tsukushi garrison soldier ordered to his post).

Midzu-tsutafu (水傳), water-laved.

II. Midzutsutafu, iso no ura ni no, isotsutsuzhi, moku saku michi wo, mata minamu ka mo (*moku*=*shigeku*).

Would I might again gaze upon the embowered path that runs round the islet, washed by the waters of the pool, all aglow with rock azaleas.

Mi-hakashi-wo (*wo*=*yo* or *no*). Complementary m. k. of Tsurugi no ike—the pool of Tsurugi or the Sword—the complete sentence would mean the sword my lord girdeth on him.

Mi-kamo-nasu (水鴨成), like mandarin ducks, m. k. of *futari-narabi-wi*, be in pairs or couples, as married folk are. See *II. chôka* 50.

Mi-ke-mukafu (御食向), humbly offer as food to the Sovran. Used with Kinohe no miya (shrine or palace of Kinohe), *ki* is homophon of *ki*, saké; with Ahaji no Shima—*aha* is millet; Ajifu no hara, the moor of Ajifu, reedy (*aji*) place, but here *aji* is taken homophonously as *aji* teal; Minafuchi yama, *mina* is an edible shellfish—Melania sp.—saké, millet, teal and shellfish were part of the *mi ke*.

Mi-kokoro-wo (御心), the royal heart—*mi kokoro wo Yoshinu*, Yoshinu that delighteth (*yoshi*) the royal heart.

Mi-komo-karu where men gather (reap) fine reeds (for roofing, matting etc.). This seems to be a purely descriptive epithet of Shinano, but another explanation is given by the Kogi based upon an unlikely etymology of Shinano.

Mi-kushige-no (御櫛), fine-comb-box (toilet-case). Used with Futakami yama, Futa=*futa*, lid (of the case)—Futa-kami's hill, of fine comb-case lid minding.

Mi-moro-tsuku (三 for 御,諸 for 室,著), the probable meaning is, to construct a sacred house (shrine) for a god. Used with Kase yama, Miwa yama, it may be merely descriptive. Motowori takes the m. k. as wrongly written for 生·緒, itself (partly *kariji*) meaning hempen thread or yarn. This would explain the connexion with Kase—*Kase*=spool, and *tsuku* would be 繫 *kaku*, wind on. The suggestion, however, does not suit Miwa, which is sometimes regarded as *miwaku*, a boiling spring, and therefore likely to be a god's seat. Mi-wa=sacred saké, also saké brewing-tub and *miwaku* fermenting of saké liquor. The simplest explanation is that the m. k. is descriptive, in fact not a m. k. at all—*Mimorotsuku Kase yama*, Mt. Kase where men have built a god's house. There are, of course, various other explanations. See K. xci. xciii.

Mi-nawa-nasu (水 沫 成), like foam on water.

V. Minawanasu, moroki inochi mo, takunaha no, chi hiro ni mo ga to, negahi kurashitsu.

Frail as life is, daily and all day I pray for its prolongation for a time to be measured by a thousand-fathom white cord of mulberry bark. This is one of the *hanka* to *V. chôha* 69 (on parental love) and life is desired on account of children, not for its own sake. For *takunahano* see *sub voce*.

Mina-no-wata (螺 腸), pulp or flesh of the *Mina* shell (Melania sp.) Used with *ka-guroki kami, V. chôka* 64 ..... *minanowata, kaguroki kami ni, itsu no ma ka, shimo m furikemu* ..... the time will come when hoar-frost shall show upon tresses, now black as pulp of *melania* shell. See also *XII.* 168.

Mi-na-se-kaha (水 瀬 河). Despite the script the meaning is said to be *mina(ki)se kaha*, a river of which the scanty stream runs unseen under its bed of stones (common in winter). Used with *shita yu are yasu*—.

IV. Kohi ni mo so, hito ha shini suru, minasekaha, shita yu are yasu, tsuki ni hi ni ke ni.

Of love men die, indeed, and I (my love who hide) like river-flow unseen 'neath wintry stony bed, month by month and day by day I perish. There is a river Minanose in Sagami.

Miru-no-goto, like *miru,* seaweed (*Codium* sp.?).

V. chôka 67 ..... *mirunogoto wawake sagareru,* in tatters like seaweed hanging down.

Misago-wiru osprey-haunted, used with *isomi,* shore-tract; *ariso,* pebbly strand; *su* (*ni wiru fune*), osprey-haunted islet (or sand bank) whereon a ship is beached.....The script 美沙居 is *kariji, mana* is 鵠鳩居.

III. Misagowiru, isomi ni ofuru, nanorisono, na wa norashite yo, oya ha shiru to mo.

My *na* (name) contained in *nanoriso* (a seaweed)—tell that name, and let thy parents know (our love)—*nanoriso* that groweth by the shore where ospreys throng. See sub voce *nanorisono.*

Mi-sora-yuku, that passeth o'er the great sky. Used with *tsuki,* moon; *kumo,* cloud.

VII. Misorayuku, tsukuyomi wotoko, yufu sarazu, me ni ha miredo, yoru yoshi mo nashi.

Though nightly I see the moon-god in his orb sailing through the sky, yet never can I approach him (i. e., win his grace)—the *tanka* is said to have been addressed to a man of rank compared to the moon-god.

Mi-torashi-no.

I. chôka 3.....*mitorashi no, adzusa yumi;* the white wood bow his royal hands do grasp; *torashi* is honorific causative.

Mitsu-kuri-no (三栗), of three chestnuts (in one burr, *iga*) applied to Naka, homophonous with *naka,* middle.

IX. Mitsukuri no, Naka ni megureru, Sarashi-wi no tayezu kayohamu, soko ni tsuma mo ga.

Unfailing are the waters of Sarashi-wi midmost the land of Naka—of middle nut of chestnut burr reminding—would I had a spouse there to whom my visits might be as unfailing as to those waters (which fail not). *Sarashi-wi,* cleansing (bleaching) well, or fount, or source. Naka is in Hitachi.

Mitsumitsushi (or *midzu*—)brilliant, heroic.

III. Mitsumitsushi, kume no wakugo ga, i-furikemu, iso no kusa ne no, karemaku woshi mo.

Alas, now the very rock-reeds (of Miho) are dead and withered, brushing which the young hero of the host forced his way to the Eastland. See also *XVIII. chôka* 227 ..... *ohokume nushi to.*

Mi-wo-tsu-kushi (水 尻 街 石), *kariji*; *mana* is 澪 標, mark or post showing a waterway or channel. The m. k. is used phonetically with (*kokoro wo*) *tsukushite.*

XII. Miwotsukushi, kokoro tsukushite, omohe ka mo, koko ni mo motona, ime ni shi miyuru.

She will be eating her heart out with grief at home, I trow—of what avail is it for me to see her in dreams only? (He is faring to some provincial post and dreams sadly of his wife left at home.)

Mina-soso-ku (gu) (水 注) water-immersed. Used in K. cii. with *O (mi) no wotome, o=uwo,* fish (*na*) that swim deep in water, *mi.* Not in Manyôshiu.

Miya-ki-hiki (宮 木 引) bring down palace-timber. Used with Idzumi kaha, down which rafts of *hi* logs were (and still are) floated.

Miyahitono See K. lxxxi. and N. 2287, a m. k. of *ayuhi,* travelling leggings such as were worn by court-folk (*miyahito*) on their way to the posts allotted them in the provinces. Not in Manyôshiu.

Mi-yuki-furu (三 雪 零) full fall of snow. Used with Koshi (comprising the three Yechi provinces), a l. nd of much snow; with *fuyu,* snowy winter; and Yoshinu, snowy hills of Yoshinu.

Mochi-dzuki-no (望 月) as full moon—used with *tatahashi,* perfect as full moon; *tareru omoha,* face perfect as full moon; *iya medzurashi,* most lovely, as full moon is. See *II. chôka* 22, *IX.* 124.

Mochi-tori-no like bird enlimed. *V. chôka* 62 .....

Mochitorino, kakarahashi mo yo ..... entrapped, caught in, as a bird enlimed.

Moda-[mo-]arazu (默 不 有), not being silent, used (half-phonetically) with *iho* (五 百) regarded as *ifu* (*ihu-iho*), say, speak.

.... *VII. Modamoarazu, i-ho shiro wo-da wo, kari midari, ta-buse ni woreba, miyako shi omohoyuru.*

In this watch-hut roofed with rough rice-straw in the midst of five hundred *shiro* of sheaf-strewn paddy-land how I dream of City-Royal! The composer is the Lady of Sakanohe, and her longing to be with her daughter in City-Royal causes her to fret at being obliged to remain in her country-house, which she designates as a field-hut.

Momiji-ba-no (黄 葉), like the sere leafage of autumn. Used with *chiri*, scatter, like the falling leaves of autumn; *sugi*, pass away; *utsuri*, change, fade, as autumn foliage. See *XIII. chôka* 174, 192 ..... *Tsukushi no yama no, momijibano, chiri-sugi ni shi to, kimi ga tadaka wo.*

Oh to see again the person of my lord who hath vanished and passed away like the autumn glow from Tsukushi's hill!

Momo-tsu (dzu) tahi, pass by a hundred (very many) places—islands, bays, etc. Used with Yaso no shima, eighty, (i. e., a multitude of) islands; Minu, a province reached only after passing by many places, i. e., distant.

Momo-fune-no (百 船), of a hundred (multitude of) ships. Used with *hatsuru*, to end a voyage (and beach or anchor ship)—*momofune no, hatsuru minato*, haven where multitudes of ships end their voyage (or passage).

Momo-shi-ki-no (百 磯 城, 百 石 木), as applied to *ohomiya* (palace) may be taken to mean vast, well fortified, built of innumerable stones and timbers. But no certain explanation of the m. k. can be given. See *III. chôka* 33, *VI.* 74, 75., also K. ci.

Momo-shinu-no, of abundant *shino* (dwarf-bamboo, or bamboo-grass), an epithet of Minu taken as *ma-nu*, true

moor where such bamboo grass is common. See *XIII. chôka* 185.

Momo-tarazu, falling short of a hundred (*momo*). Used with the syllable *i* (meaning also fifty) of *ikada*, raft, of *i-tsuki*, fifty (cluster of) *tsuki* trees (kind of elm, *keaki?*); with *yaso*, eighty, very many. *I. chôka* 13 ..... *momotarazu, ikada wo tsukuri* ..... In *XIII. chôka* 157 *momotarazu* is written, but *ashihikino* (q. v.) seems to be intended.

Momo-yo-gusa, phonetic m. k. of *momo yo* (*idemase*).

XX. Chichi haha ga, tono no shirihe no, momoyogusa, momoyo idemase, waga kitaru made.

Momoyogusa, herb of a hundred ages or years, may be a kind of Pyrethrum. Until my return, be that a hundred years hence, may she await me in all her beauty, like the *momoyo* that groweth behind her parents' mansion. *Idemase=ohashimase.*

Mono-no-fu-no, like weapon wight, warrior. Used, accompanied by *yaso*, with Ujikaha (near Kyôto), the River Uji minding of all (*yaso*=eighty) the families (*uji*) of warriors (*mononofu*); *yaso tono no wo*, all the warriors of the regiments of guards; *yaso uji hito*, all persons of family; *yaso no wotomera*, all the maidens of gentle birth; and with *yaso no kokoro*, *uji* and Ihase no mori—grove of Ihase, *Iha* root of *ihamu*, crowd, fill, as warriors do a camp. *Mononofuno* is thus mainly a sort of epithet of Yaso, eighty, all, and can only be explained, not translated.

VIII. Mononofuno, Ihase no mori no, hototogisu, ima mo nakanu ka, yama no to-kage ni.

Amid the shady recesses of the hills, in the grove of Ihase—of encamped hosts minding—not yet, belike, singeth the cuckoo. See also *I. chôka* 13, *III.* 52, *IV.* 59, *VI.* 77, 92.

Mura-kimo-no (村肝, for 群肝), viscerum totalitas. Used with *kokoro*, heart, as one of the *gozô*, five viscera, i.e., heart, lungs, stomach, liver and kidneys.

I. chôka 8 ..... *murakimono kokoro wo itami*, sorrowful my heart among my life-organs.

Murasaki-no (紫), like the *murasaki* flower—*Lithospermum officinale* (Matsumura). Used with Kokata no umi pl. n., koka=*koki*, deep-tinted (as the m. flower—the British L. officinale—has yellowish flowers, but the Japanese variety has a purplish blue florescence); with *nihoheru imo* my love delightful as the *murasaki* flower.

XVI. Murasakino, Kokata no umi ni, kadzuki tori, tama kadzuki deba, aga tama ni semu.

Should the diving birds that haunt the waters of Kokata—of rich purple minding—bring up pearls (as the pearl-fishers do), of what pearls they bring up will I make my beadlace belike.

I. Murasakino, nihoheru imo wo, nikuku araba, hitodzuma yuwe ni are kohime ya mo.

Had I found you not fair, my love, fine as the murasaki flower, now that you are another's, I might not love you, but still I do. *Hito dzuma* has here rather its original than its later signification (Kogi). The tanka is addressed to the Princess Nukada by Hitsugi no Miko.

Mura-tama-no, in *mana* 群玉.

XX. Muratama no, kuru ni kugi sashi, katame to shi, imo ga kokori(ro)ha, ayoku name ka mo.

Firm as the fixed pivot of a door-hinge was her vow of faithfulness, but alas I fear for her constancy. Here the m.k. (collection of pearls=beadlace) applies to *kuru* (pivot) as homophon of *kuru* 轉, wind or twine round (as a beadlace round neck or arm?) Some commentators see in *muratama no* an Eastland form of *nubatamano* (q. v.) and apply it to *kuru* as=*kuro*, black.

Mura-tori-no, like flocks of birds, used with *mure-tachi*, assemble and depart; *asatachi*, depart at dawn; *idetachi*, go forth: in all expressions the allusion is to the morning flight of birds. See *IV. chôka* 92, *IX.* 117, *XIII.* 166.

Nabiki-mo-no (靡藻), like drifting sea-weed.

XI. Murasaki no, Nadaka no ura no, nabikimono, kokoro ha imo ni, yori ni shi monowo.

My heart is borne towards my love as the sea weed is borne by the waves on the strand of Nadaka in Murasaki (in Kii).

Na-guhashiki (名 細), celebrated, famous, *homegotoba* of Yoshinu, Samine no shima and Inami,—perhaps a contraction of *hanaguhashi* beautiful—see *sub voce*.

Naguru-sa-no (投 左 for 箭), a bow-shot's length, used with *tohoki*, distant. See *XIII. chôka* 189.

Naha-nori-no (縄 法), *kariji*, ropy? sea-weed; used phonetically with *na ha katsute norazhi* (the name—*na ha*—must not be uttered; *nahanorino, hikaba tayu to ha* ..... breaking if strained—as easily as the *nahanori* when the sea weed gatherer draws it into his boat.

Naku-ko-nasu, like puling child. Used with *shitahi*, love (as a very young child does its mother); *koto dani tohazu*, unasking aught (a very young child is speechless); *ne nomi shi nakayu*, but weep and wail (as an infant does); *yuki tori saguri*, go seeking after (as an infant when crawling after something it desires) said of a persistent suitor. See *III. chôka* 49, *V.* 61, *XIII.* 173.

Naku-tadzu-no, like screaming crane.

IV. chôka 55 ..... *akegure no, asa giri kakuri, nakutadzuno, nenomi shi nakayu* crying with the cry of the crane amid the morning mists when night gives way to day.

Naku-tori-no, like screaming wild-fowl, used with *ma naku toki nashi* incessantly.

Nama-yomi-no, explained as 生 善 肉, fresh, fine flesh. Used with Kahi (no kuni), Kahi=*kahi*, shellfish, *Haliotis, Turbo* &c. See *III. chôka* 37.

Nami-no-ho-no like crest (or flower) of wave, used with *itaburashi*, surging, menacing.

XIV. Oshite ina to, ine ha tsukanedo, naminohono, itaburashi mo yo, kiso hitori nete.

No, no, I will not, last night you failed me and I am angry as angry waves. (She refuses her lover's request). There is

some connexion between *oshite ina to* (no, I will not) and *ine ha tsukanedo* (though I am not pounding rice—the girl is low-class), but it is too obscure to be worth what would be a long explanation—the quibble is mainly phonetic, *ina-ine*.

Na-nori-so-no (名乗藻), the script is *kariji*, used phonetically with *na nori* (名告) and its derivatives;

Misagowiru, isomi ni ofuru, na ha norashite yo, oya ha shiru so mo.

See under *misagowiru*. *Nanoriso* is a sea-weed (*nami-nari-so* wave-riding-weed ?), perhaps Sargassum enerve.

Nara-shiba-no, phonetic m. k. of *nare ha masa=azu.*

XII. Mikari suru, Kariji no wonu no, narashibano, nare ha masarazu, kohi koso masare.

Narashiba is Quercus glandulifera. The concluding couplet seems to mean—though oftener I see you not, yet my love increases; and the *jo*—the oaks (*narashiba*) of the little moor of Kariji, of royal hunt (*kari*) reminding, merely introduces the phonetic m. k. *narashiba—nara=nare.*

Naru-kami-no, used with *oto*, sound.

XI. Amakumono, yahe kumo kakuri, Naru kami no, oto ni nomi ya mo, kiki-watari namu.

Is it not just the roar of the thunder-god hidden by the manifold clouds, the clouds of heaven that is borne to us?

Natsu-kusa-no, like summer herbs or grass. Used with Nushimagasaki (Cape Nushima, in Ahaji), *nu* being regarded as contraction of *nayu*, droop, as herbs do in summer; *omohishinayete*, with drooping spirits (*II. chôka* 16) —or, perhaps, tender feeling. See also K. lxxxvi. of which the sense seems to be—tread not on the crumbled shells of the strand of Ahine, but with the break of dawn pass on—the m. k. *natsukusa* as m. k. of *ahine* (sleep) implying a feeling of closeness (as summer herbs grow thick and close. It is difficult to do more than vaguely indicate the sense in which such a m.k. as this is used.

Natsu-so-biku (夏麻引), The script is, no doubt,

kariji. In *mana* it may be 魚釣竿挽, *na tsu(ri)sawo hiku,* fish-angle,—rod-ply. *So,* however, may be hempen line, not rod (*sawo*). The m. k. thus written seems to signify—haul in the rope (sustained by floats) from which hang a number of fishing lines. The application would then be intelligible of the m. k. to *unakami,* sea-border, seashore; to Unahi (海之合 where land meets sea) it must be similar. See also *XIII. chôka* 148, where the passage is defective—perhaps *natsusobiku* is applied phonetically to (*omohi*)*nadzu*(*mi*).

Nayo-take-no, like swaying bending bamboo. Used with *towoyoru kora, miko &c,* graceful and slender girl, princess ..... See *II. chôka* 20.

Niha-ni-tatsu, in garden grown, used with *asa* hemp, in *asate kobusuma,* coverlet of hempen stuff; i. e., as though made of hemp grown in the demesne.

XIV. Nihanitatsu, asate kobusuma, koyohi dani, tsuma yo shi kosene, asate kobusuma.

Coverlet of hemp in my demesne grown, if but for this one night I would my love came to me, O coverlet of hempen stuff. (If correctly interpreted, this is a rare instance of quasi-personification).

Nihatadzumi, collect in pools as falling rain.

II. Mitatashishi, shima wo miru toki, nihatadzumi, nagaruru namida, tome so kanetsuru.

When I look upon the island made (by our prince) in the garden lake, the tears flow from me in floods, nor can I stop their flow.

This is one of twenty *tanka* composed in memory of Hinami no miko.

Niha-tsu-tori, the yard (forecourt) bird, m. k. of *kake,* cock.

Nihi-muro-wo (新室).

XI. Nihimurowo, fumi shidzumu ko ga, tatama narasu mo, tama no goto, teraseru kimi wo, uchi he to mawose.

A *sedôka.* How the armlets tinkle on my brave fellows there

who beat down the earth with their feet to erect thereon the pillars of yonder new dwelling! Tell him who shines among them as a jewel to enter the mansion. It is the father who bids his daughter and her folk tell her bridegroom to take possession of his newly built dwelling place (or spousal pavilion?).

Niho-tori-no, like the grebe (Podiceps minor), m. k. of *futari-narabi-wi,* consort in pairs, as grebes do, emblem of spousal love, a Chinese notion; of Okinaga kaha, *oki(iki)naga,* long-breathed, as diving grebes are; Kadzushika (in Kadzusa), *kadzu(ku)* meaning, to dive; *nadzusahi,* float, swim; and *ashi-nure koshi wo.*

XI. Omofu ni shi, amari ni shikaba, nihotorino, ashinure koshi wo, hito mikemu ka mo.

Too great his love has been, and so hath he pursued his way to me (careless of the storm), wet-footed as a *niho* bird. Hath one ever seen such fervour of love? Motowori substitutes *a nayamu koshi,* with crippled foot (so that the lover had to walk painfully like a *niho* bird)—certainly a better trial of the lover's 'fervour.'

Niko-gusa-no, like *niko* (plant or flower).

XIV. Ashigari no, Hakone no nero no, nikogusano, hanadzuma nare ya, himo tokazu nemu.

Is she a new bride that I must forbear from loving her, fine as the Niko flower that bloom in the heights of Hakone in Ashigari.

Nochi-se-yama, a hill in Wakasa; the m. k. is used phonetically with..... *nochi to ahamu to* ..... (thinking) hereafter to meet thee.

Noto-kaha-no, the River Noto; phonetic m. k. with *nochi mo ahamu* (see preceding m. k.), *noto* and *nochi* being regarded as sufficiently homophonous.

Nubatamano, *Nubatama* is the black-berried *Pardanthus chinensis.* The m. k. is used with *kuro,* black (as pardanth berry); *kami,* tresses; *yo,* night; *yufube,* dusk; *ime (yume),* dream (in darkness of night-time); *tsuki,* moon

shining in dark sky)—*nubatama no yo wataru tsuki*, moon wandering over sky as pardanth-berry black. See Lays 23, 24, 39, 60, 153, 154, 240. Also K. iv. v. and N. 2395.

Nutsutori (野鳥), the moorland bird, i. e., *kigishi*=*kizhi*, pheasant.

XII. chôka 178 ..... *nutsutorino, kigishi ha toyomu, ihe tsu tori, kake mo naku* ..... The heath-bird, the pheasant, makes the welkin ring with his cry, the house-bird, the cock, with his crow.

Nuye-kotori (*nuyetorino*), the *nuye* bird, perhaps some sort of owl 鵺—used with *uranage*, inwardly, deeply sad.

I. chôka 4 ..... *nuyekotori, uranage woreba.* As I felt sad with the sadness of (the cry of) the *nuye* bird. The m. k. is also used with *katakôhi tsuma*, unmated mate, i. e., left in (unloved) loneliness like a *nuye* bird.

V. chôka 67 ..... *nuyetorino, nodo yobi woru ni* ..... uttering throaty (lamentable) sounds like the nuye bird.

Ochi-tagitsu, fall in torrent or cascade, phonetic epithet of Tagi no Miyako (in Yamato), Tagi=*tagi*, cascade.

Ofuwoyoshi k., cix. used with *shibi*, tunny-fish; the meaning seems to be, O monstrous fish!

Ohobune-no (大船), like a great ship. Used with *tanomu*, rely on, trust to, (as sailor or wayfarer to a ship); Watari, (hill-name)—*watari*, to cross, pass over, (sea, river, etc.) as ships do; *tayutafu*, toss, roll; *yuta ni araramu*, will toss up and down; *yukurayukura*, much as with *tayutafu* (*tayuta*) (*fu*) and *yuta* (*yuda*); Katori no umi (Lake Ômi or Biwa).

II. chôka 26 ..... *ohobuneno, tayutafu mireba, nagusamuru, kokoro mo arazu*, tossed like a ship at sea, so to say my heart knowing no comfort.

XI. Unabara no, michi ni norite ya, aga kohi worite,
ohobune no, yuta ni aruramu, hito no ko yuwe ni.

over the sea-plain faring I think of my love, and like the ship that bears me am tossed with useless grief, for another hath her!

XI. Ohobune no, Katori no umi ni, ikari oroshi, ikanaru hito ka, mono 'mohazaramu.

I would I were never anxious about any girl! The *jo* "casting anchor in the bay of Katori, of a great ship's helmsman (*katori* =*kajitori*) minding. *Ikari* and *ikanaru* are linked phonetically —*ika-ika*. See also Lays 17, 22, 26, 27, 59, 70.

Oho-kimi-no (大 王), like, or of, great chief, lord, or sovran. Used with Mikasa (hill-name).

VII. Ohokimino, Mikasa no yama no, obi ni seru, hoso tani kaha no, oto no sayakesa.

O the pleasantness of the murmur of the little river that girdles the foot of the hill of Mikasa—of my Sovran minding. Mikasa=*mi-kasa*, canopy of state (or royal hat). Comp. K. cvi. cviii. (where the m. k. is merely descriptive).

Oho-kuchi-no, huge-mouthed. Used with Makami no hara (a moor in Yamato).

VIII. Ohokuchi no, Makami no hara ni, furu yuki ha, itaku na furi so, ihe mo aranaku ni.

O snow that fallest on Makami's moor, of some huge-mouthed wolf (*ohokami*) minding—fall not so sharply, no shelter hath he (i. e., her returning lover). Note the personification.

Oho-tomo-no (大 伴), Great or Grandguard (a clan or guild-name.) Used with Mitsu, Takashi, pl. nn—*mitsu takashi* (*takechi*), meaning brilliant, valiant, heroic, heroic with the heroism of the Ohotomo clan, as to the glories of which see especially *V. chôka* 68, *XX.* 263.

I. Ohotomono, Takashi no hama no, matsuganeno, makite nuru yo ha, ihe shi shinubayu.

Making the foot of a pine tree my pillow, on the strand of Takashi (or Takechi)—name that recalleth the glories of the Ohotomo clan—I dream of home.

Oho-tori-no (大 鳥), great bird. Used with Hakahi (hill-name) in Yamato. Ha (*ha*) is feather, hence the use of the m. k. or *ha-kahi* (*ha-kaharu*) may refer to the furnishing of moulted feathers for arrows, in which case the m. k. may

denote the eagle (*washi*), or lastly *ha-kahi* may=wings or plumage.

Oho-wi-gusa, a variety of Scirpus lacustris, phonetic m. k. used with (*oho*) *yoso ni mishi yo(ri)ha,* after having looked elsewhere, anywhere.

Oho-yuki-no, great snow storm.

II. chôka 24 ..... *ya no shigekeku, ohoyukino, midarete kitare* like a great storm of snow was the thick cloud of arrows that flew in hurtling showers.

Oki-ni-sumu, ocean (offing) haunting—m. k. of *kamo,* wild-duck (which migrates across the ocean).

Oki-tsu-mo-no (奥藻), as sea-weeds of the deep. Used with Nabari (name of a hill), with *nabaru=kakuru,* hidden, as sea-weeds are in the deep; *nabiku,* yield, as sea-weeds to the sway of wave or tide.

Oki-tsu-nami (奥浪), waves of the offing (deep sea). Used with *shikite,* incessantly, continually, as the waves that rise and fall.

XI. Nagusamuru, kokoro ha nashi ni, okitsunami, shikite nomi ya mo, kohi watarinamu.

My heart is ever unsolaced; for the torments of love are incessant as the roll of the waves of the deep sea.

XIII. chôka 132 ..... *okitsunami, kihohi-kogiri-ko, ama no tsuribune,* come sculling in, vying with eachother like the ever-sweeping waves of the deep sea, ye fishermen in your angling boats.....

XIX. chôka 252 ..... *okitsunami, towomu mayobiki,* ..... painted eyebrows rounded like sea-billows.

Oki-tsu-tori (奥鳥), wild-fowl of the deep sea, that haunt or fly over the deep sea. Used with *kamo,* wild-duck; Ajifu no hara, moor of Ajifu, *aji*=teal (*ajikamo*).

XVI. Okitsutori, Kamo chifu fune no, kaheri-koba, Yara no sakimori, hayaku tsuge koso.

When the ship called the 'Wild-Duck' shall return—that bird of ocean,—let the watcher on Yara send me swift tidings thereof.

Oku-yama-no, inland, or wild hills, wild-land beyond the neighbourhood of City-Royal. Used with *ma-ki,* right wood, i.e., *hinoki* (Chamaecyparis).

XI. Okuyamano, maki no itato ha, oshihiraki shiwe ya (yoshiyayoshi) ide kone, nochi ha ika semu.

Open the door, love, of wild-hill right-wood made, and come to me now, later were too late!

Oshiteru-ya (押光, 臨照). An epithet of Naniha. Some commentators derive Naniha from *nami-haya* wave-swift, where swift the waves roll in; others from *nami hana,* wave-flowers, the white crests of the waves. The m. k. may follow the scripts as shining, sparkling, or may be a contraction of *oshitateru,* surge, toss etc., See Lays 48, 77, 79, 259, 261. See also K. liii. N. 434.

Sa-bahe-nasu, like fifth month flies. Used with *sawaku* (*gu*), be tumultuous, noisy (as flies that buzz in summer).

III. chôka 25 ..... *miko no mikado no sabahenasu, sawaku toneri ha* ..... the Court pages (or folk) thronging the *miko's* palace like flies in summer. So in Lay 69 ..... *sabahenasu, sawaku kodomo,* children frolicking noisily like fifth month flies.

Sada-no-ura-no, the Bay of Sada in Tosa. Used as phonetic epithet of *sada=shida=wori,* time, period.

Sadzu-hito (*no*), a general name for hunters and fishers, (*umi-sachi biko, yama-sachi-biko*), applied as m. k. to Yutsuki ga take, a peak in Yamato—*yutsuki=yudzuka=yumi-dzuka,* part of bow held in hand of hunter.

X. Kagirohino, yufu sari kureba, sadzuhitono, Yutsuki ga take ni, kasumi tanabiku.

When the evening glow begins to fade, far and wide the mists spread about the peak of Yutsuki—of bow by hunter grasped reminding.

Sa-goromo-no, right-garment or gaberdine. It is a m. k. complementary to *Wo-tsukubane,* a two-peaked hill in

Hitachi—*koromo no wo tsuku*, meaning to attach the cords fastening the folds of the vestment.

Sahidzuru-ya, used with Kara-usu. See under *koto-saheku* (*gu*).

Saka-tori-no (坂鳥), wild-fowl or birds of the hill-passes. Used with morning, because in the early morning birds are seen flying over the hill-passes.

Saki-dake-no (辟竹), as (halves of) split-bamboo. Used with *sogahi ni neshi*.

VII. Waga seko wo, idzuku yukame to, sakidakeno, sogahi ni neshiku, ima shi kuyashi mo.

My love, whither hath my love wandered? Shall we turn our backs on each other like the halves of a split-bamboo? (There has been a coolness, let it not endure.)

Saki-kusa-no. This m.k. is written 三枝, three stalked, and is used with *naka*, between, midmost (of three)—like the middle of the three branches of the *saki* herb, which may be *azegusa* or *sagiso* (an orchid, *Habenaria radiata*).

Saku-hana-no, like full-blown flower. Used with *utsurohi*, fade, change, as the spring blossoms do.

Sakura-bana (櫻花), wild cherry blossom. Used with *Sakaye wotome*, girl blooming as the cherry blossom.

Sanakadzura (*sanekadzura*).

Sanekadzura (挾根, 核, 挾名, 眞玉葛, 五味), a magnoliaceous creeper or trailer (*Kadzura japanica*). Used with words denoting extent of time or its limitation. With *nochi mo ahamu*, will meet hereafter; *tayemu no kokoro waga 'mohanaku ni*, no thought have I of loving thee with a heart that shall fail thee.

XII. Yufutatamu, Tanakami yama no, sanekadzura, arisarite shi mo, ima narazu to mo.

Though we may not meet now, yet shall we meet, though long the time may be as coil of creeper on Tanekami's hill. For *yufutatamu* see *sub. voce*.

Sane-kaya-no (蓑 草). The precise meaning of *sane* in these compounds is not easy to determine. *Sane* may mean a pip or seed, or true or *ma-ne* right (well) stalked. The script here=pliant (*sa-nahe*) stemmed herb or grass (reed). *Kaya* apparently is, or is akin to *Miscanthus sinensis*. The m. k. is used with *makoto nagoyaka*, truly soft, yielding.

XIV. Woka ni yose, waga karu kaya no, sanekayano, makoto nagoyaha, nero tohena ka mo=nemu to ihanu ka mo.

Wilt thou not yield to me cruel one, with the true gentleness of the well-haulmed reeds that I reap me—nor say me nay on the hill-side.

Sane-sashi. See K. xxv. where it is an epithet of Sagami (the province). Perhaps it refers to Fuji—true-peak-showing (*sa-ne-sashi*).

Sa-ni-dzurafu (狭 for 眞 丹 頬), right-ruddy complexioned. Used of *waga ohokimi*, my great lord or sovran; *kimi*, lord, lover, thou; *imo*, sister, sweetheart; *wotome*, girl; *iro*, colour; *momiji*, autumn glow; *himo*, cord of vestment. *Dzurafu*, (*tsuru*) seems merely to verbalize *sa-ni*, true red (*ni*=earth, red earth, red colour).

Sashi-nami-no (指 並), In *IX. chôka* 90 this seems descriptive merely, ... *sashinami no tonari no kimi* ....., the gentles dwelling in the adjoining row of houses.

Sashi-noboru, hardly a m. k. *II. chôka* 20 ..... *sashinoboru, Hirume no mikoto*, His Highness Hirume who ascends up to heaven.

Sashi-susumu (指 進).

VI. Sashisusumu, Kurusu no wonu no, hagi na hana, chiramu toki ni shi, yukite tamukemu.

Used with Kurusu (moor of). None of the explanations of this m. k. are at all satisfactory. It is written 指 進, but what this has to do with Kurusu, written 栗 栖, it is impossible to say. If *kuru* be taken (as written) as *kuri*, chestnut, it might be read as *sashi susamu*, denoting the prickly

character of the chestnut burr (iga). Some commentators regard the m. k. as a script error (possible enough in cursive) for *Muratama*, and read this in connexion with *kuru* (the pivot of a door-hinge on which the hinge turns, or to wind round, as a beadlace (*muratama*) round the arm, or *Kuru* may be 來, come. The *tanka* means, fallen alas are the flowers of the *hagi* on the moor of Kurusu, which I would have offered to the god. 'I' is the Dainagon Ohotomo Kyô.

Sasu-dake-no (刺竹), used with *miko*, prince; *oho-miya*, palace; *toneri wotoko*, page or servant of the court; *ha komorite ari*. The meaning of the script is, planted bamboo slip, but it may mean merely an erect stalk, as of *kibi*, anciently *kimi*, millet, and at a later period have become attached to *kimi*, lord etc., and so extended to cognate expressions.

X. Sasudakeno, ha komorite are, wago seko ga, wa gari ki sezuba, aga kohime ya mo.

My beloved who liest there midmost the standing millet hidden, (or comest unseen) even if thou comest not to me, shall I not love thee? This appears to be the meaning of the *tanka*, and in it *sasudake* must mean standing millet (a thick leafy crop). In my Primitive Texts I give a different but conceivable explanation of this m. k. In the above *tanka are=arahare*.* The translation in conjectural.

Sasu-yanagi (刺楊), planted willow slip, which grows freely, hence the application to *adzusa* (Catalpa) which grows freely also. *XIII. chôka* 183 ..... *sasuyanagi, neharu adzusa* ..... (*yumi* being intended)—taking in his royal hand the bow of *adzusa* which groweth freely as the planted willow. The explanation is tentative.

Sa-wo-shika-no, true-male-deer, used with Irinu, the moor or forest waste of Irinu, within which the true male-deer was parked (*irinu*).

* Note.—May *sasudake* refer to the young branches stuck in preparatory rice-plots to guard them from harm?

Sa-yuri-bana, true-lily-flower, phonetic m. k. of *yuri*=*yori*=*nochi.*

VIII. Wagimokoga, ihe no kaki tsu no, sayuribana, yuri to ihereba, ina chifu to nitsu.

The gist is—if she sayeth, hereafter (we shall meet), 'tis as though she said, never. The *jo* is—the true lily that bloometh within the fence of my love's dwelling—the connexion is *sayuribana yuri-yuri*=*nochi.*

Sazare-nami (小 浪), wavelets, ripples. Used with *iso*, shore; *ma naku* unrestingly, incessantly (as the ripples that follow each other without rest), *shikite kohi tsutsu*, while loving ever; *yamu toki mo naku*, never ceasing; *tachite mo wite mo*, standing or sitting, going or staying, i. e., always.

III. Sazarenami, iso Kose-ji naru, Notose kaha, oto no sayakesa, tagitsu se goto ni.

Oh the pleasantness of the murmur of the waters, wherever the rapids flow of Notose's river by Kose's track—minding of strands by rippling wavelets beaten (*iso* Kose=*iso kose*—break on the shore).

Shidzu-tamaki (倭 文 手 纏). The script is partly *kariji*, 倭 文, meaning hempen cloth. The true meaning is 賤, low, mean, and the m. k. is read with *kadzu mo aranu*, of no account, and *iyashiki*, mean, worthless; *tamaki* is an armlet of beads or pearls.

IV. Shidzutamaki, kadzu ni mo aranu, waga mimochi, ikade kokodaku, aga kohi wataru.

Less than nothing am I, mean as a shabby armlet, yet how great my love!

Shiho-bune-no, like sea-going ship. Used with *narabete*, (ships) beached or moored side by side.

XIV. Wokusa wo to, Wogusa suke wo to, shihobuneno, narabete mireba, Wogusa kachimeri.

Seen together, like sea-ships beached in harbour, I say that he pleaseth more than he of Wokusa. (There is implied in the two place-names being differentiated merely by a *nigori*, a quasi-

equivalence on the part of her wooers in the mind of the lady who indites the tanka.

XIV. Shihobuneno, okareba kanashi, sa-netsureba, hitogoto shigeshi, na wo mo doka shimu.

To leave you like a ship in haven were misery, to love you were to give cause for men's tongues to wag—what shall be done, dear? Of this obscure tanka there are several explanations of which the one now given appears the most natural. *Okareba* may be 置 or 起.

Shikishimano, scarcely a m. k. ..... *Shikishima no, Yamato no kuni* ..... Yamato where Shikishima is. In the Kojiki ..... *Sumeramikoto no Shikishima no ohomiya ni mashimashite ame no shita shiroshimeshishi*—the Sovran resident in his great palace of Shikishima ruled the under-heaven (the whole land). Shikishima, usually written 磯 城 嶋, was the seat of the Palace under the Mikado Kimmei (about 540 A. D.) and became a name or epithet for the province, and afterwards for the whole land.

Shiki-tahe-no (敷 妙). There are other scripts. A spread-out thin stuff for sleeping on. Used with words connected with sleeping, bedplace, etc., *sode, tamoto, koromo, makura, toko,* sleeve, gaberdine, pillow, alcove; also with *ihe,* dwelling place; *kurokami,* jetty tresses (as dishevelled in bed at dawn), but here it may be a script-error for *nubatama* (q. v.) See Lays 17, 26, 29, 30, 49, 58, 70, 82.

Shima-dzutafu (嶋 傳), coast, pass by (many) islands. Used with *a-haya* (*ashi-haya*=ποδώκης) *no wobune,* swift ship.

VII. Shimadzutafu, a-haya no wobune, kazemamori, toshi haya henamu, afu to ha nashi ni.

As the crew of a swift-keeled ship that coasteth many an island wait for fair wind and fine weather, so have we amidst the storms of slander for years waited and yet found no safe moment for meeting each other. This is the real meaning of the *tanka* here necessarily paraphrased.

Shima-no-nu-no, the moor of Shima (Yamato), perhaps a tract engirdled by the winding river of Yoshinu. It is a phonetic m. k. of *shibashiba—shima shima.*

X. Kunisura ga, haru na tsumuramu, shimanonuno,
shibashiba kimi wo, omofu kono goro.

The moor of Shima where one gathers the spring salads of Kunisura,—again, again (*shibashiba*) do I now think of thee!

Shima-tsu-tori, the island bird, the cormorant. Used with *u-kahi,* cormorant keeping, *u-kahi ga tomo ha,* cormorant-keepers. See also K. xv. and N. 1184.

Shinaderu (級 照), a *Kariji* script. The m. k. is used with *kata,* as though meaning, 肩 shoulder, (or 方 perhaps) in Kata-asuha-kaha, and in Tsushima Sanukata. The meaning seems to be *shinatsuru,* slope, be sloping (as shoulders slope or a hill slopes up or down).

Shi-naga-tori. This m. k. may mean either *shiri*—or *wo-naga,* long-tailed or long rumped bird, or *shi-naga,* long-breathed bird (as diver-birds are), such as the *nihotori* (q. v.). Used with Wina pl. n. (*wi-nami*), i. e., with syllable *wi* 居 率, be, be with, as in the expression *narabi-wi,* be together, as pairing waterfowl. In *IX. chôka* 104 we find *shinagatori, aha ni tsukitaru, adzusa* ..... Here the connexion with *aha* is very obscure, the explanation that *aha* must be taken as contraction of *uha-ha,* upper plumage, is quite unsatisfactory. But there seems to be no other.

Shinahi-nebu (靡 合 歌 本), the *Albizzia julibrissin.*

XI. Wagimokowo, kiki Tsuga nu he no, shinahinebu, a
ha shinubi yezu, ma naku shi, 'moheba.

Wagimokowo kiki is a *jo* to Tsuga, *shinahi nebu* is phonetically linked with *shinubi* in both its meanings. O swaying *nobu* tree that flourisheth on Tsuga's moor, never can I win rest, for ever my thoughts dwell upon my love. Tsuga implies *wagimoko wo kiki-tsugi* (ever hearing his love's name) and *shinubi nebu, shinubi* yezu (can win no rest).

Shina-zakaru. The meaning of this m. k. is obscure. In N. under Jomei, 11th year, we read that a pagoda of nine stories, *koshi* 重, was erected on the banks of the Kudara. *Koshi* is also represented by the characters 層 級. Lastly, Koshi is the name of a province (comprising the three *Yechi*). The m. k. is applied to *Koshi;* it may mean, further and further removed (from City-Royal), or, taking *shina=saka,* by many a pass removed. The last explanation is perhaps the best.

XVII. chôka 216—in one reading ..... *shinazakaru Koshi wo osame ni,* for the purpose of administering the distant (?) province of Koshi.

Shinunomeno, (*me=mure*) shinu, written, small bamboo, is a variety of *Arundinaria Simoni.* The m. k. is phonetic of *shinubi,* endure, conceal, etc., *shinu-shinu.*

XI. Akikashiha, Uruha kahahe no, shinunomeno, shinubite mireba, ime ni miyekeri.

The gist of this *tanka* is—as I thought of my love longingly I saw my love as in a vision. The m. k. is introduced by a *jo*—O the waste of bamboo-grass (*shinu*) by the river-side of Uruha. For *akikashiha* see *sub voce.*

Shira-kumo-no (白 雲), white-cloud-like. Used with *omohi-sugubeki—sugu,* pass away like white clouds; Tatsuta, *tatsu,* rise, as white clouds may; *tayenishi imo.*

IV. Asa ni hi ni, Irodzuku yama no, shirakumono, Omohi-sugubeki, kimi ni aranaku ni.

Like the white clouds that morn and even dwell on Irodzuku's hill doth my love ever pass to my lord—*irodzuku* means love (lit. colour) stained.

XIV. Shirakumono, tayenishi imo wo, aze sero to, kokoro ni norite, kokoba kanashike.

Like a white cloud, hath my fickle love gone from me What shall I do? Of my heart she is ever mistress and I am full of woe—*aze sero=nani to seyo.* See also Lays 86, 107.

Shiramanago (白 細 砂), white (shining) sands. Used with Mitsu, pl. n.; also ..... *shiramanago, kiyoki hama* ... . bright strand of shining sand.

Shira-mayumi, white spindle-tree (Euonymus europoea) of the white wood whereof bows were made, as of *adzusa.* Used with Haru yama—*haru* being taken as 張, bend a bow (*yumi*); with Hida no Hosoya (pl. n.), Hida=*hi*(*ku*)*ta*(*mu*), bend, draw a bow.

Shiranami-no (白 浪), white waves—used with *hama,* shore, where the white waves roll in; *ichishiroku,* plain to see as the white-crested waves; *omoshiru kimi.*

XII. Kami no goto, kikoyuru tagi no, shiranamino, omoshiru kimi ga, miyenu kono goro.

Not seen for days my lord as well known to eye as to ear the roar of the white waves of the thunderous rapids.

Shiranu-hi (白 縫 *kariji* for 不 知 火), strange flames or fires unknown. Used with the pl. n. Tsukushi. The principal explanations, none quite satisfactory, are these: (1) that the allusion is to N. 1653 where we read that the Mikado being at sea off Tsukushi saw a flare on the coast which served as a guiding beacon during the night—on inquiry it was found that no man knew of the flare (*hito ga shiranu hi*); (2) that the bright blaze of a bush-fire is alluded to (see *II.* 24, vv. 55-60), and (3) that the bright sparkle of the *nu* jewel was manifested. *Nu* seems to have been a kind of coral which may have been common off the Tsukushi coast. Comp. the jewel-spear (*nu-boko*) of Izanagi and Izanami on the bridge (or ladder) of heaven. See also *V. chôka* 6.

Shiranu-kuni, unknown or foreign land, or land unknowing (or not obeying) the Mikado. In *I. chôka* 13 we have the passage ..... *shiranu kuni yori Koseji* ..... in which *shiranu kuni yori* (return to obedience?) is a mere complementary preface to Kose—*kose*=pass along, traverse.

Shira-sugeno (白 菅), white (bright) or plumed *suge,*

(reed, rush, sedge). Used descriptively with Manu pl. n.—pool, bay etc. of Manu, also phonetically in

XI. Ashitadzuno, sawaku (gu) iriye no, shirasugeno, shira-remu tame to, kochitakaru ka mo.

The text must be corrupt of this *tanka* which may be rendered tentatively—

That my love be known would I ever declare it, as the cranes ever cry among the reedy lagoons. The phonetic link is *shira(suge)—shira(remu)*.

Shiratama-no (白玉).

XIX. shiratamano, migahoshi kimi ..... my jewel-bright lord whom I long to see.

Shira-to-horu, m. k. of Onihita yama or Nihitayama (in Kōdzuke). The meaning is given in the script 白鋤掘 (if correct)—where men dig out fine white hones. To the armourer of old Japan a good hone would be a treasure.

Shira-tori-no (白鳥), white bird, used with Sagisaka yama, *sagi* meaning stork ; with Tobayama, *tobu*=fly ; Manu no kuni, a tract in Settsu, perhaps because storks were abundant there.

Shira-tsutsuzhi (白管自 part *kariji*), white or fine azaleas. Used phonetically with *shiranu koto mochi.*

X. Ominaheshi, Saki nu ni ofuru, skiratsutsuzhi, shiranu koto mochi, ihareshi waga se.

The sense of this *tanka* is very obscure. It seems to be, that as to our knowing not (my love) all the world knows it, dear! The *jo* to the m. k. is—the white azaleas that grow on the moor of Saki—of flowering (*saki*) *ominaheshi* (q. v.) minding.

Shira-tsuyu-no (白露), white (shining) dew. Used with *Ke, Kihe,* vanish, perish, as the white dew of morning so soon does.

X. Aki no ta no, ho no 'he ni okeru, shiratsuyuno, kenu-beku are ha, omohoyuru ka mo.

Alas I am perishing of love as the white dew perishes that lies upon the rice-ears of the fields of autumn.

Shira-yuki-no (白雪), white snow.

X. Yonabarino, nu ki ni furi ohofu, shirayukino, ichi-shiroku shi mo, kohimu are kamo.

Is it not plain, alas, (though I tried to hide my feelings) that I love, plain as the snow that whelms the moors and woods of Yonabari.

Shiri-kusa-no (知草), phonetic epithet of *shirinu.*

XI. Minato ashi ni, mazhireru kusa no, shirikusano, hito mina shirinu, aga shita omohi.

Now all men have got to know (*shirinu*) of my inmost thoughts (of love). The *jo* is—the *shiri* (know) grass that grows among the reeds of the harbour. *Shirigusa* is said to be the same as the *i*, Juncus effusus.

Shiro-tahe-no (白妙, 白布, 白細布), white bleachen stuff (hempen, mulberry fibre, silk, etc., used with parts of dress; *koromo*, gaberdine; with *sode*, sleeve; *tamoto*, sleeve; *koromode*, sleeve; *tasuki*, sleeve-bands; *hire*, scarf, wimple; *himo*, dress cords; *obi*, girdle. There are also the phrases *shirotahe no kumo*, cloud; *shirotahe no ha*, plumage, where the word is descriptive—*shirotahe no kimi* (君) is an error for *shikitaheno* (q. v.). See K. xcvi.

Shishi-zhi-mono (鹿自物), deer-like. Used with *i-hahi fushi, i-hahi-wogami*, creep and crouch, crouch and pray, the attitude being compared with that of a stag on his knees. So with *hiza-wori fushi*, knee-bend-crouch.

VI. chôka 89. *Isonokami Furu no mikoto ha.....shishu-zhimono, yumiya kakomite .....* His Highness of Furu in Isonokami, escorted by archers as a prisoner, like a deer enclosed by bowmen (hunters).

In N. 2552 the m. k. is used with *midzu kukegomori*, like a stag standing (at bay ?) in a pool of water.

Shita-bimo-no, phonetic m. k. of *shita* (*yu*), deeply, inwardly. *Shita-bimo* are fastening cords of undergarments.

XV. Mono 'mofu to, hito ni ha miyezhi, shitabimono, shita yu kofuru ni, tsuki so he ni keru.

To understand this *tanka* read—*shitabimono shita ga kofuru ni tsuki so he ni keru mono 'mofu to hito ni ha miyezhi.*

Concealed my love, month after month has gone by, and yet I have not let it be seen of men—but I can hide it no more.

Shizhi-kushiro. Used with *yomi*, Hades.

The probable meaning of this m. k. is abundance (*shizhi*) of *kushiro*=*kusuri*, *kishiru* (*kabi* or *kahi shiru*), i. e., *saké*, rice-liquor. Its use with Yomi would be as with *yomi*, good, excellent. It is also an epithet of *uma*, delicious. *Kushiro* also means an armlet—*shizhikushiro*, would then give the sense—fine as the appearance of wearing abundance of armlets or beadlaces.

Suzu-ga-ne-no, sound of horsebells—used with *hayauma*, swift (or government relay) horse.

VI. Suzuganeno, hayauma umayano, tsutsumi wi no, midzu wo tamahe na, imo ga tada te wo.

Give me water, pretty maid, with thine own hand, give me water from the stone-cribbed well of the post-house where swift horses wait with their sounding bells.

Suga-no-ne-no (菅根), root (stem?) of *suga* (rush or sedge). Used with *nagaki haru hi*, a long spring day, long in time as a sedge root spreading far underground; *omohi midarete*, confused with thoughts (of love etc.,) as roots or haulms of sedges or rushes grow in confused tufts; as phonetic with *ne* (*mokoro*)=*nengoro;* with *tayu*, break off end, as root or stem of rush or sedge which easily snaps when pulled.

Sugi-mura-no, clump of *sugi* (Cryptomeria or Japanese cedar-tree), a phonetic epithet of the verb *sugu*, overpass, cross.

III. Isonokami, Furu no yama naru, sugimurano, omohi-sugubeki, kimi ni aranaku ni.

Alas my lord is no more, on whom my sad thoughts dwell—the *jo* is ever—on Furu's hill in Isonokami stand the clustering cedars (*sugi*), the phonetic link is *sugimura-sugubeki.*

Suka-no-yama, the name of a hill in Yetchiu, used as phonetic m. k. of *sukunaku*, little, less

XVII. Kokoro ni ha, yurubu koto naku, Sukanoyama, sukunaku nomi ya, kohi watarinamu.

My heart never slacketh not in love. Shall I ever love thee less as the days pass?—removing *ya* to the end.

Sora-mitsu (虚見津). Used with the name of the Home province, Yamato. The usual explanation of this m. k. is *sora* (*yori*) *mitsu*, seen from the sky;—another is *sora-mi* (*ma*) *tsu*, sky-sacred place—both these explanations refer to the holy spot (*tsu*) where Nigihayabi touched earth at the conclusion of his voyage adown the sky in the celestial rock-boat (*iha-fune*), i. e., the land of Yamato. I rather take it as sky-shining, applied to Yama, (part of Yamato). But one can only guess.

Tachibana-no, the orange tree. Used with Miyori (a village in Suruga) or rather with the first syllable *mi* read as *mi*, fruit. There is a place, called Tachibana, in Musashi.

Tachibana-wo, the orange-tree, complementary m. k. with Moribe no sato (a village of unknown locality)—*tachibana wo mori*, to watch (guard from depredation) orange trees.

Tachi-komo-no, *komo* is Eastland for *kamo* wild-duck—*tachikomono tachi no sawaki*, (*gi*), upflight (of wild fowl) noisy as whirr of rising wild-duck.

Tachi-no-shiri (剣後), point of sword-blade (comp. *yazhiri*, arrow-head); *tachi no shiri saya ni* forms a *jo* to Irinu (*iri*) in.

VII. Tachinoshiri, soya ni Irinu ni, kuzu hiku wagimo, ma-sode mochi, kisetemu to ka mo, natsu kuzu hiku mo.

This is a *sedôka*. The sense seems to be—Is it to win fibre to weave a garment for her husband that I see yonder girl with both sleeves drawn back (or with both hands) gather summer *kuzu* stems, *kuzu* growing on *Iri's* moor, minding of sheathing (*iri*) in its scabbard (*saya ni*) the point of a sword, *tachi no shiri*? The m. k. is also used with *tama maku tawi*.

X. Tachinoshiri, tama maku tawi ni, itsu made ka, imo wo ahi mizu, ihe kohi aramu.

How long must I wait in this watch-hut in the rice-field just sown, not seeing my love and longing for my home.

Tawi=ta=rice-field, *tama maku* means rice-sown, and also, homophonously, bejewelled. In the latter sense it is read with *tachi no* (*saya no*) *shiri*, the point or end of the scabbard or sheath of the sword.

Tada-watari (直渡), wade across (a river), used with *kaha yuki* and *Anashi kaha.*

IV. Yo no naka no, me ni shi araba, tadawatari, Anashi no kaha wo, watari kaneme ya.

Though but an ordinary woman (a woman of this [poor] world), even across the Anashi river would she wade or follow him (who had divorced her), but the task was too hard for her strength, alas! The point of the *tanka* is that *Anashi= ashinayamu*, crippled, is connected with *tada watari*, the attempt to do which the river-name should have prevented.

XIII. chôka 193 *Tamahokono, michi yuki hito ha, ... yama yuki nu yuki, tada watari, kaha yuki watari ...* ..... Along the spear-way faring hath he ..... o'er hills, o'er moors fared, o'er rivers waded etc.

Tadzu-ga-naku, descriptive of Nagoye—where the scream of the cranes is heard (Nago=*naku*). Comp. K. lxxxiv.

Tahami-dzura, some kind of creeper or trailer, used with *hiku*, pull, draw.

XIV. Ahaworono, Woroda ni oharu, tahamidzura, hikaba nurunuru, a wo koto na tahe.

Draw me softly to thee as a tender creeper that groweth in Woroda, by the knoll of Aha, nor cease to devise lovingly with me. In the above *wo=woka*, knoll, *ro* is a postfix, *oharu* (*ofuru*), grow, *a wo koto na tahe=are ni kotodohi wo tatsu* (絶) *koto nakare.*

Taka-hikaru (高照), high shining, loftily-brilliant. Used

with Hi no miko, Hi no mikado. See Lays 12, 13, 14, 22, 25, 32, 34, 38; also K. xxviii. lxxii. xcix. c. ci.

Taka-kura-no, high-throne, high seated ..... Used of Mikasa no yama, *mi kasa* being the royal canopy under which the Sovran sat (*mi kura*) on state occasions.

Taka-mi-kura, high-royal-seated, used with Ama no hitsugi (Heaven's sun's line), *XVIII. chôka* 226.

Taki-gi-koru, faggot-cut, used with Kamakura yama—*kama*=bill for cutting faggots.

Taku-busuma (栲衾), a *fusuma* (coverlet) of *takuzuno* (white mulberry-bark cloth). Used with Shirayama, Shiraki (Silla, Shinra, in Korea)—*shira*=*shiro*, white (bleachen).

Taku-dzuna-no (栲綯), like cord of mulberry bark fibre. Used with Shiraki; *shirohige*, white beard; *nagaki*, long (space or time). See Lays 49, 262.

Taku-hire-no (栲領巾), scarf or wimple of *taku*. Used with *shirahama nami; kakemaku hoshiki; Sagisaka yama.*

XI. Takuhireno, shirahama nami no, yori mo akezu, araburu imo ni, koki tsutsu so woru.

She will not come to me, yet all the while I love her, cruel one! she will not come to me as the waves come to the strand white as any bark-cloth wimple.

III. Takuhireno, kakemaku hoshiki, imo no na wo, kono Se no yama ni, kakeba ika ni aramu.

How if I wrote this mountain's name (Se) with thine (imo), whom I would fain have speech with. Imo + se is Imose, another hill name, *imose* also means *fuufu*, spousal pair. The m. k. is used here with *kake*, to throw on, put on, also to utter, proffer (words). The use of the m. k. with Sagisaka yama—*sagi*=stork—is obvious.

Taku-naha-no, rope or cord of bark-fibre, used with *chi hiro.*

V. hanka to *chôka* 69 *Minawanasu, moroki inochi wo* etc. see sub. voce. *minawanasu.*

Tamadzusa-no (玉梓), precious or fine *adzusa* (Catalpa), used with *Tsukahi*, message or messenger. Anciently, according to Motowori, a messenger bore a rod or branch of *adzusa* with beads (*tama*) fastened to it, and hanging a hank of bark-fibre by the door meant a declaration; next, when a message was sent, the bearer was furnished with a like wand or branch, and, finally, when writing came to be used, the term *tamadzusa* was applied to a letter. Another explanation is—*tama*, precious, fine, *tsu*, genitive post position, *sa* 章 a communication, *tama* being a *homegotoba*. In Michinoku paper *tamadzusa*, folded in various ways, are used by lovers, and in Sanuki knotted wisps of straw are so employed. The modern *kusa no mi no sane* (present of fruit wrapped in herbs) reminds one of the *tamadzusa*.

III. Tamadzusa-no, imo ha tama ka mo, ashihiki no, kiyoki yamahe ni, makeba chirinamu.

The beads of the life-thread of yon fine maid are all unstrung and scattered belike, now that on yonder well-wooded hill her ashes lie all abroad.

Here *tamadzusa* means, no doubt, *tamadzusayumino*, girl treasured as a fine *adzusa* bow. There is, however, a plant, *tamadzusa* Trichosanthes cucumerioides. See Lays 27, 45, 59.

Tama-hayasu (玉映), gem-brilliant, used with *muko*, bridegroom or son-in-law, elegant as a polished gem.

Tama-hoko-no (玉桙), fine spear or halberd. Used with *michi* road; *sato hito*, village-tract resident.

Motowori applies the m. k. to *michi* as=*mi te*, fine haft or hilt. Dr. Aston sees in the expression a phallic allusion. The application to *sato* can only be explained by connecting *sato* with *michi*, as a village would always lie on a road. Or *sato* might read *ma-to*=*mi-tsu* or *mi-chi*. Lastly, the *tamahoko* might refer to the phallic (?) stones set up at the entrance to villages. See Lays 15, 27, 28, 30, 31, etc.

Tama-jihafu, with the script 靈幸 the m. k. might be rendered, conferring blessings. It is used with *kami*, deity.

XI. Tamajihafu, kami mo are wo ba, utsute koso, shiyeya inochi no, woshikeku mo nashi.

I am in the hands of the gods who sustain the lives of men, but I do not desire to live, (for I am sick with love), and pray ye, O gods, to end my days.

Tama-kadzura, empearled or fine chaplet, used with *kage ni miyetsutsu; kakenu toki naku.* Written *kariji* 玉蔓.

II. Hito ha yoshi, omohi yamu to mo, tamakadzura, kage ni miyetsutsu, wasurayenu ka mo.

Though men may cease to remember thee, oh may I not fail to keep thee in my mind and ever see thy face present to me. The m. k. cannot be rendered, it applies to *kage* in its sense of *omokage,* face (crowned by chaplet). The above is the complaint of an *ohokisaki* (queen) on the death of the Sovran.

XII. Tamakadzura, kakenu toki naku, kofuredomo, nani so mo imo ni, afu toki mo nashi.

Though I love her ever, my love, without ceasing a moment, how is it I may not meet my sister, my love. *Kake* has a twofold meaning, one with *tamakadzura,* to put on, wear (a chaplet), another as connected with *toki* (time), *Kakenu toki naku,* with never a break. See Lays 39, 48.

Tama-kadzura, fine creeper or trailer, used with *tayezu, tayuru koto naku,* never-ceasing; *hahete,* creeping. In the Kotoba no Izumi I find—

Katsura 桂, cassia tree (Cercidiphyllum japonicum;

„ 葛, a creeping *Dolichos*;

Kadzura, a wild-vine (Brinkley & Le Maréchal), *Agropyrum costatum* (Matsumura);

Udo-kadzura, Ampelopsis leeoides (Matsumura), and

Katsura, a chaplet, garland, coiffure (sort of wig?).

Tama-kagiru (玉限), the script is said to be an error for 玉蜻, itself *kariji* for *tama kagiru* (*kagirofu, kagayaku*). See *kagirohino,* also Lay 146.

Tama-katsuma (玉勝間), the script is *kariji.* Katsu-

ma is explained as=*katama*, a small basket with lid (*futa*) and body (*mi*), the parts, therefore, fit in meeting, hence the use of the m. k. with *ahamu*, will meet. The m. k. is also found with the names Abeshima yama and Shimakuma yama; with the former through *abe* (*ahe*, *afu*), with the latter through the syllable *ma*, viewed as=*me*, a mesh in wicker work, and so in a *katsuma*. These explanations are far-fetched enough, but they satisfied Motowori.

Tamakiharu, variously written. One meaning is, to wear armlets, and with this the m. k. is used with Uchi, pl. n., reading *uchi* or *ude*, arm. But it might be explained as *tama-kiharu*, (*tama* for *tamashii*), vitally-limited, and Uchi as *utsu*=*utsutsu*, real life of the present world; in this sense it seems certainly to be used with *inochi*, life, *yo*, age, generation. Other explanations are made possible by the facile etymology of old Japanese.

I. hanka to *chôka* 3. *Tamakiharu, Uchi no ohonu ni, uma namete, asa fumasuramu, sono kusa fuka nu.*

on the great moor of Uchi will ride together on our horses and trample down this morn the lush growth of the moor (i. e., we will start the hunt). The m. k. is not rendered in this version.

X. Tamakiharu, Waga yama no he ni, tatsukasumi, tatsu to mo u to mo, kimi ga manimani.

Here, according to Motowori, Waga is an error for Haru, in which case the m. k. would be used phonetically.

The meaning is ever, standing or sitting (i. e. ever and always), thy will is mine. *Tatsu-to mo u to mo*=*tachite mo wite mo*—*tatsu* is prefaced by the first three lines—the mists on Waga (or Haru) hill that rise. See also Lays 3, 64, 69, 70, 136, and K. lxxi, N. 1934, 1946, 2175.

Tama-kushige (玉 匣), fine comb-box (toilet-case). Used with *aku*, *hiraku*, open, be open. Being lidded the comb-box could be 'opened' (as the box of Urashima was, see Lay 105).

IX. Tamakushige, akemaku woshiki, atara yo wo, koromote 'karete, hitori ka mo nemu.

Ah, wretched night to dawn that opens—of Urashima's fatal

casket minding—and makes us part our sleeves, how can I lonely sleep?

With Mimuro and Mimuroto no yama, the use of the m. k. is with the syllable Mi=body (of casket or box); with Futagami with reference to *futa* (lid, of the *kushige*); with *oku*=*soko* with reference to the interior or depth of the *kushige*—*oku ni omofu wo, mi tamahe wagimo*—look thou my sister, my love, into the love that lies at the very bottom of my heart (as at the bottom of the casket of Urashima).

VIII. Tamakushige, Ashiki no kaha wo, kefu miteba, yorodzu yo made ni, wasurayenu ya mo.

Never, should we live a myriad years, shall we forget the view this day has given us of Ashiki's river—of Urashima's casket minding. Here Ashiki is taken as=淺笥 (comp. 麻笥, 飯笥 &c.), *ke* or *ge* being a small wicker-work case, hence the use of *kushige* as a sort of phonetic epithet. The *tanka* was composed on the occasion of certain officials stopping at a relay-post on the banks of Ashiki river (in Chikuzen) on their way to the Tsukushi garrison (Dazaifu), which was a sort of exile. In this article I have ventured to treat *kushige* as an allusion to the famous casket of Urashima.

Tama-kushi-no (玉櫛), phonetic m. k. of *tamashihi kemu.*

IV. Wotomeraga, tamakushigenaru, tamakushino, tamashihi kemu mo, imo ni ahazu areba.

Not to meet thee is to quench the life in me. The phonetic m. k. cannot of course be rendered; its *jo* is—the fine comb of the lady's fine comb-box.

The m. k. means, fine comb, the phonetic link is *tama*—*tama.*

Tama-kushiro (玉釧), fine armlet. Used with (*u*)*de ni maki mochi;* wear wound round the arm; *makineshi imo*, my love inwound in my arms.

IX. chôka 120 ..... *kuchi yamazu, aga kofuru ko wo, tamakushiro, te ni maki mochite, masokagami, tada me ni*

mineba ..... My love whom I love, my lips ever trembling with love, fain would I take thee in my arms, and look into thy mirror-bright eyes, but I may not look and .....

XII. Tamakushiro, makineshi imo mo, araba koso, yo no nagakeku, ureshikarubeki.

Were she still alive, my sister, my love, to embrace, as arms are embraced by bracelets, the length of the nights would be delightful—but now, desolate and lonely, the long nights are a long misery.

Tama-mo-karu, where men harvest fine *mo* seaweed. Used with *oki-he*, the offing or deep sea; *Karami no shima, Minume* (where *mo* is abundant).

XI. Tamamokaru, wide no shigarami, usumi ka mo, koki no yodomeru, aga kokoro ka mo.

But weak defences against the flood, methinks, are wattled groins and wickered ropes of stone (*iseki* or *wide*) where men fine *mo* weed gather—my heart as weak, belike, 'gainst the floods of love. *Mo* is some sort of sea-weed, littoral or other, dulse, fucus, ulva?

Tama-mo-nasu, like fine *mo* weed, used with *ukabe*, float; *yori neski*, reposing as wave-borne seaweed thrown on the strand; *nabiki-neshi*, sleep against, embraced by, close to (as *mo* by the shore). See Lays 13, 16, 17, 23.

Tama-mo-yoshi. This m. k. may be read *tamamo yo shi*, fine seaweed O! and is so used with Sanuki taken as=沉著 *shidzuki*, a seaweed or rooted in deep water; the sense would be—Sanuki where fine *mo*-weed grows from the sea-bottoms; or *yoshi* may be read as 吉, excellent. The difference is not great. *Yoshi* again may be *yosu, yosuru*, when *tamamoyoshi Sanuki* would mean, Sanuki (on whose strand) fine *mo*-weed drifts.

Tama-no-wo-no (玉緒), a string of pearls or gems, a beadlace. Used with *nagaki*, long (as a beadlace is); in the Kokinshiu with *mizhikaki*, short, as a beadlace may be, *tama-nowo no mizhikaki kokoro omohi;* with *tayu*, cease, end; *omohi-*

midarete, thought confused, bewildered, as the beads are scattered when they fall and lie about in confusion when the *wo* is broken; *tayete midare; tayete wakareba; ahida mo okazu; tsugite ha ikedo.*

XII. Kimi ni ahazu, hisashiki narinu, tamanowono, nagaki inochi no, woshikeku mo nashi.

For long days have I not met thee, for life long as string of beadlace (or perhaps endless, as such a string would be) I have no desire.

XI. Ametsuchi no, yori-ahi no kihami, tamanowono, tayezhi to omofu, imo ga atari mitsu.

Till heaven and earth should come together again I deemed our bond of love should endure as beadlace unbroken—now I can but gaze upon her home.

VII. Uchihisasu, miyaji wo yuku ni, aga mo ha yarenu, tamanowono, omohi midarete, ihe ni aramashi wo!

Faring towards sunbright City-Royal (to meet him) my smock hath been rent on the rough path, and like scattered pearls of a broken beadlace my thoughts are all disordered and fain would I be home again. For *uchihisasu* see *sub. voce.*

XI. Ikinowoni, omoheba kurushi, tamanowono, tayete midarena, shiraba shiru to mo.

To the very thread of my life is my life sad, I am all undone like a snapt beadlace, let the world know my case an it will!

XII. Tamanowono, ahida mo okazu, mimakuhori, aga 'mofu imo ha, ihe tohoku arite.

Close as pearls upon a string I would my visits to thee might be, my sister, my love, but far from me is the home thou bidest in.

XI. Tamanowono, utsushi kokoro ya, toshi tsuki no, yuki kaharu made, imo ni ahazaramu.

Like a fragile beadlace is my life, the days and the months slip by and I do not meet thee, belike!

Tama-tare-no (玉垂), beads pendent. The application

seems to be to the syllable *wo* regarded as 緒, string or thread (on which beads, pearls etc. are strung) in *Wochinu* (moor of Wochi; in *wosu=misu* (blind of thin bamboo-strips).

XI. Tamatareno, wosu no sukekini (yo?), irikayohi kone, tarachine no, haha ga tohasaba, kaze to mawosamu.

Thou canst visit me, love, creeping in under the bamboo-blind. Should my noble mother ask me aught, I will say 'twas the noise made by the rustling wind.

Tama-tasuki (玉手次). This m. k. is usually explained as, precious or fine sleeve-bands (to fasten the sleeves back when the wearer is occupied in any way). Another explanation is that *tama=taba, taba tasuki* (把襷), bind-back-sleeve. The m. k. is used with Unebi no yama—*unebi* taken as= *unazhi*, neck (the bands would pass over the shoulders and be fastened behind the neck?); *kaku, kakuru*, throw, cast [the bands over the shoulder to tie (*tabane*) the two together behind the nape of the neck]. See Lays 4, 9, 24, 27, 40, 57.

Ta-motohori (徊徘), *ta* is intensive prefix, *motohori= mahari*, go about. Used with Yukimi no Sato (village-tract name)—*yuki* meaning to go (to a place).

XI. Tamotohori, Yukimi no sato ni, imo wo okite, kokoro sora nari, tsuchi ha fumedomo.

In Yukimi's village have I left my dear—the very name bids me go forth and see her (*yuki mi*); my heart is all in the air (i. e. flying toward her), though my feet stand on firm earth. Yukimi may also mean a quiver.

Ta-muke-gusa (手向草 for 種), god-offerings, used with *nusa tori okite*, taking offerings to place before a god.

XIII. chôka 138 ..... *Wotomerani, Afusaka yama ni, tamukegusa, nusa tori okite* ..... taking and placing offerings before the deity of Afusaka hill—whose name of meeting with a maid remindeth.

Tarachineno (帶乳根, 垂乳根, 足常), these scripts seem all *kariji* and very misleading. The m. k. is used with *haha* mother. *Tarachi* is *tarashi*, perfect, and must be regarded

as merely a *homegotoba* (comp. Tarashi hiko, Tarashi hime etc.), while *ne* is an honour-suffix (we have Yamatarine, Shimatarine etc). The m. k., thus explained, is a true epithet, meaning excellent, noble, εὐγένης, πότνια. Milk-giving, nursing, cannot be sustained as a probable rendering.

Tatamikeme, is an Eastland form of *tatamikomo,* used with *Murazhi no iso* (in Surûga). Some commentators apply it to the initial syllable *mu* only, as a contraction of *amu* (weave, as a mat or net).

XX. Tatamikeme, Murazhi no iso no, hanariso no, haha wo hanarete, yuku ga kanashisa.

Oh the sadness of one's mother being banished to the lone island off Murazhi—of rush-matting minding. (*Murazhi* may be taken as=*muroshiki,* spread within a dwelling—as matting is. Again *mura* is a numerative of things that can be rolled up, like matting. The m. k. may also be read *tadamikefu,*= *tadamukafu,* and be descriptive, not a true m. k. at all.) *Tatamikomo* lit. means a mat made of rushes. In K. xxxi. xc. we find *tatamikomo, Heguri no yama,* where the m. k. is used with *he,* a fold or thickness. See also N. 1634.

Tatanadzuku (畳有 for 着), used with *awokakiyama, awokaki gomori.* The word=*tatanahari nadzuku* (*nami-tsuku*) and appears to mean, with the above expression, green-wooded many-ridged hills.

II. chôka 23 ..... *tsuma no mikoto no, tatanadzuku, nikihada sura wo* ..... His lady wife's soft-pliant form ..... Here reading *ya ha* for *sura* the m. k. may be applied to *yaha*(*raka*).

Tatanamete (楯並), used with Idzumi no kaha (the river Idzumi).

XVII. Tatanamete, Idzumi no kaha no, mi wo tayezu, tsukahematsuramu, ohomiya dokoro.

May men serve the Sovran at the great palace (of Kumi) as long as the waters of the Idzumi flow. Kuni was the City-Royal of the Mikado Shômu, though only, from 724 to 728. (Satow).

Tata(tate)namete, make a shield-fence, is used with the initial syllable *i* of Idzumi as=*i, iru*, 射, to shoot at, i. e., the shield-fence over which one shoots at the foe, or with *idzumi* as=*idomi*, shout defiance at the enemy, as may be (more or less safely) done from behind the shield-fence.

Tatanedomo (業立), so the script, but 不 appears to have been lost. Used with pl. n. Okuna—, probably the script should be *okanedomo* 起.

XVI. chôka 211 ..... *tatanedomo, Okuna ni itari, Tsukanedomo, Tsukunu ni itari.*

I come to Okuna, though I cannot stand upright (*oku*), nought construct I (策 *tsuku*), yet to the moor of *Tsuku* come I ..... "I" is the crab of the *naga uta* 211.

Tatsu-kiri-no, rising-mist, used with *omohi sugubeki; ichishirokemuna.*

III. Asukakaha, kaha yodo sarazu, tatsukirino, omohi sugubeki, kohi ni aranaku.

How can one regret over much the ancient memory enduring as the mists that ever rise from the pools of the Asuka river. This is a *hanka* to *chôka* 39 and the 'memory' is of the deserted City-Royal, Kiyomihara (time of the Mikado Temmu).

XI. Kaha chidori, sumu saha no he ni, tatsukirino, ichishirokemuna, ahi-ihi-someteba.

If we meet and begin to devise of love, will not our case be as plain to all men as are the white mists that hover o'er the marshes which the river-dotterels haunt.

Tatsu-nami-no (立浪), surging waves; used with *shibashiba wabishi*, lament again and again (as the waves again and again roll in upon the strand).

XII. Kimi ha kozu, are ha yuwe nami, tatsunami no, shibashiba wabishi, kakute kozhi to ya.

He cometh not to me, nor may a girl seek her lover, ah! will he not come? again, again, like the ever-surging waves, I ask miserably.

Tatsuta-yama, the (famous) hill of Tatsuta (龍田)

used phonetically with *tachite* (*tatsu*) *mo wite mo*, standing or sitting, i. e., constantly.

Tatsu-tori-no (立 鳥) birds rising in flight.

XIV. Wotsukuba no, shigeki ko no ma yu, tatsutorino, me yu(ni)ka na wo mimu, sa-nezaranaku ni.

The gist of the tanka is in the concluding couplet—I would fain but look at thee with mine eyes, if I may not clasp thee to me—*me* is a contraction of *mure*, flock, and, thus read, the *jo* is—the flock of birds rising up from among the thick woods of Tsukuba.

Ta-waraha-no (手 小 童).

IV. chôka 59 ..... *tawarahano, ne nomi nakitsutsu, tamotohori, kimi ga tsukahi wo, machi ya kanetemu.*

I shall have wandered wailing belike, as a hand-led child, impatiently awaiting the coming of thy messenger.

Tawayame-no (手 弱 女), arm-feeble-woman.

IV. chôka 80 *Nagisumi ni,....., tawayameno, omohi tawamete*, with faint feelings as of a feeble woman, at Nagisumi .....

Teru-tsuki-no, like shining moon.

XII. Aratama no, toshi no wo nagaku, terutsukino, akanu kimi ni ya, asu wakarenamu.

The morrow must we part indeed for many a year and month—my love whom I never tire of beholding as one gazes unwearied upon the shining moon.

Tobusa-tate (鳥 總 立), the script, which must be *kariji*, means, to set fowler's nets, but the m. k. seems really to signify, to ply a wood-axe.

III. Tobusatate, Ashigara yama ni, funa-ki kiri, ki ni kiri yukitsu, atara funa-ki wó!

Taking my axe I went out to cut ship-timber on the hill of Ashigara, to cut ship-timber I went, alas that timber—(I found it already felled). The commentators say that the inner sense is that a girl whom the poet would fain have made his own he found another man had already wooed and won.

The Kotoba no Idzumi describes *tobusa* as an offering to the hill-deity of the tree-top, which is fixed in the stump.

According to the Kogi (the author of which was a Tosa man) in that province an axe is still known as *tobusa*.

Tobu-tadzu-no (飛鶴), flying crane, used, phonetically, with *tadzutadzushi*—troubled, anxious.

Tobu-tori-no (飛鳥), flying-bird. This m. k. has given great trouble to the commentators in its application to Asuka. The following explanation is as good as any other. Asuka is regarded as=*ashikaru*, light of leg, as a bird may be said to be; the application is then obvious; or *asuka* may have been the name of a high-flying bird. The use of the m. k. with *haya kaheri kone* presents no difficulty—come back, I pray thee, swiftly as a flying bird. See Lays 23, 26, 86.

Toho-tsu-hito, one far away, far removed, as a traveller on a journey is far away from his home-folk. The m. k. is used with the place name Matsura—*matsu* being taken as *matsu* 待, wait, await, expect, as the home-folk do the way-farer. A similar use is that with *matsu no shita ji yu*, from the path under the pines, *matsu* 松=待 wait, etc. An extended application is shown in the following *tanka*.

XII. Tohotsuhito, Kariji no ike ni, sumu tori no, tachite mo wite mo, kimi wo shi so 'mofu.

Ever are my thoughts full of love for thee—the *jo* to the fourth *ku* is—sitting or rising (i. e., ever) as the birds rise that haunt the pool of Kariji of wild-geese (*kari*) minding which are far travellers. See *XIII. chôka* 183.

Toho-tsu-kami, far-off, i.e., sublime deity, used with *waga ohogimi*, my great lord or Sovran, as far removed from men as a god is. See *I. chôka* 4.

Toho-tsu-kuni, far-off-land, m. k. of Yomi, under-world, Hades—*tohotsukuni, Yomi no sakahi ni*—to the borders of Yomi, that far-off-land. See *IX. chôka* 123.

Toki-kinu-no, clothes unravelled, unpieced (taken to pieces for washing). Used with *omohi-kohi-midarete*, bewildered, distracted, (with grief, love, etc.)—in disorder like the parts of a vestment unpieced for cleansing.

Toki-tsu-kaze (時 風), time-winds, tide-winds.

XIII. Tokitsukaze, Fukehi no hama ni, ide-witsutsu, agafu inochi ha, imo ga tame koso.

I go forth upon the strand of Fukehi, where ever the time-winds blow, and offer prayer to the gods that my days may last at least until I see my love once more *Agafu=aganafu.*

Tokoro-dzura (冬 瞿 蔓), a creeping plant, the Japanese yam, *Discorea japonicus*, or perhaps *D. tokoro.* The m. k. is used with *iya tohoshiku, tadzuneyukereba.* A country name is 'old man of the moor,' alluding to the white appearance of its decaying coils of the stem in autumn. With *tokoshiku* the use seems to be phonetic, *toko-toho.*

IX. chôka 112 ..... *wo tachi torihaki, tokoro-dzura, tadzune yukereba* :..... his dagger he girded on him and hied him wildly away as 'twere to dig the wild yam upon the moorland. (In my Prim. Texts the translation is slightly different, the present version is the more correct one.)

Tokoyomono, a thing of the Eternal Land.

XVIII. Tokoyomono, kono tachibana no, iya teri ni, wago ohokimi ha, ima no miru koto.

Ever bright as the precious fruit of the orange tree brought from the Eternal Land, may my great lord flourish as I now behold him.

Toko-zhi-mono (床 自 物), alcove-like-thing.

V. chôka 66 ..... *kusa tawori, shiba tori shikite, toko-zhimono, uchikoifushite,* plucking herbs and branches and spreading them on the ground and throwing myself down on the litter (as on couch in alcove.)

Tomoshi-hi-no (留 火), the script should be 燭 火, flame or flare of light. The m. k. is used with the pl. n. Akashi—*akashi*=shining, bright (as flare of flame).

To-nami-haru (鳥 網 張), set fowler's nets.

XIII. chôka 134 ..... *tonamiharu, Sakate wo sugi* ... . pass Sakate, of hill-pass (*saka*) minding where fowlers spread their nets.

Tono-gumori, the gathering of clouds, rain-clouds.

XII. Tonogumori, Amefuru kaha no, sazare nami, ma naku mo kimi ha, omohoyuru ka mo.

Oh incessant is my love for my lord as the beating of the little waves on the banks of the river of *Amefuru*—minding of gathering clouds that presage rain (*ame furu*).

In *XII chôka* 153 the expression is purely descriptive—*tonogumori ame ha furikinu,* the gathering clouds have dissolved in rain.

Tori-ga-naku (鳥鳴), cock-crow. Used with Adzuma Eastland). The common explanation of Adzuma is well-known and need not be repeated here. The m. k. means, essentially, the cock's (or any other bird's) morning call to rise—*waga kado ni, chidori shibashiba okiyo okiyo to* ..... by my door the dotterels cry and cry, arise, arise!

Tori-zhi-mono (鳥自物), like birds—used with the phrase *asa tachi imashite,* about to set out in the morning when wild-fowl make their earliest flight; with *nadzusahi yukeba,* as they fare on floating together like (pairing) wild-fowl.

VII. Torizhimono, umi ni uki-wite, okitsu nami, sawaku(gu) wo kikeba, amata kanaski mo.

Tossing on the sea like a sea-bird, and listening to the roar of the waves, thoughts too sad throng upon me (he pines for his home and family).

Tsubasa-nasu, wing-like.

II. Tsubasanasu, arigayokitsutsu, miramedomo, hito koso shirane, matsu ha shiruramu.

The meaning of this *tanka* seems to be—Though our Prince's winged soul be ever flying bird-like in the sky and fain would we behold it, we wait and know it not, alas! Only the pine groves know it!

Tsuga-no-ki-no (樅), a conifer Tsuga Sieboldi, or possibly, *tsuge* (Buxus) may be intended. Used, phonetically, with *iya tsugi tsugi ni,* in ever unbroken line or succession.

Tsugi-ne-fu (次嶺經). Other scripts are 繼苗生,

續根生. The meaning may be (a) when the peaks (*ne*) are ranged (*fu*) or crossed in succession (*tsugi*); (b) where tree-trunks (*ne*) are so ranged, or woods crossed. The m. k. is used with Yamashiro—Yamashiro whereof the name minds of serried hills—or thick woods (or of hills or woods crossed or traversed on the way from Yamato to Yamashiro).

XIII. chôka 180. *Tsuginefu, Yamashiro-ji wo* ..... See also K. lvii, lxi, lxiii and N. 2144, 2155. Possibly the m. k. applies to the *yama* only of Yamashiro. The second of the above scripts seems to regard *ne* as a contraction of *nahe* (saplings?).

Tsukanedomo, phonetic m. k. of pl. n. Tsukunu (moor of Tsuku).

XVI. chôka 211 ..... *tsukanedomo, Tsuku nu ni itari.* Though I build nothing (taking *tsuku*=策), yet I get to *Tsuku* ..... See sub *tatanedomo.* But *tsuku* may also be taken as 到, arrive at—perhaps the latter sense is the one intended; it would give more point to the quibble.

Tsuki-kusa-no (月草, 鴨頭草), apparently the blue-flowered Commelyna communis, abundant in Japan.

XII. Momo ni chi ni, hito ha ihedomo, tsukigusa no, utsushi kokoro wo, are motame ya mo.

A hundred, a thousand ways men may slander me, yet no feeble (impressionable) heart is mine, unstable as the blue of the moon-flower; *utsushi=utsurofu.*

Tsukigusano, kari naru inochi, naru hito wo, ika ni shirite ka, nochi ha ahamu chifu.

I would fain meet thee, and that soon, for I know not my tale of days fleeting as the moon-flower's hue. The m. k. is also used with *kenubeku kohi to,* love that may soon pass.

Tsumagomoru (嬬隱), spouse-seclude, used with the syllable *ya* as 家, house, in pl. n. Yakami, Yanu. In K. I. we find *tsumagomi* with the same meaning. Even at the present day a bride or spouse is known as *shinzô* (新造) i. e., new-built,—

recalling the time when a new hut or chamber was constructed for the use of a bridal pair.

Another explanation is—*te* (手) *no tsuma* (端) *ni komoru*, enclose within hand-grasp, *ya* being taken as *ya* arrow. In N. 2549 we find *tsumagomoru, Wosako wo sugi*, passing by Wosako, where *wo sa* (小 箭) may mean a small (hunting) arrow. *Sa-ho*, however, may mean *ma ho* (a secluded place? comp. *mahora*).

Tsuna-te-hiku (縄手引), rope-hand-haul. Used with *umi* sea, whence boats are hauled ashore.

Tsunashi-toru, where men take *tsunashi*, a kind of herring (Clupea zunashi). Descriptive of Himi no ye, the creek of Himi. See *XVII. chôka* 225.

Tsune-shiranu, strange, uncommon, used with Hitokuni yama—*hito*=他, other—Otherland Hill.

VII. Tsuneshiranu, Hitokuni yama no, Akitsu nu no, kaki-tsubata wo shi, ime ni mishi ka mo.

O iris flower that blooms on the moor of Akitsu by Hitokuni's hill—of strange lands (hito kuni) minding—have I seen it in a dream (he has had a vision of his mistress, and compares her to the iris flower—according to Keichiu the tints of the iris recall her beauty). See post *tsutsuzhihana*.

Tsunusahafu, abundant, creeper or ivy-mantled, taking *tsunu*=*tsuta* as ivy (or any creeper). Used with the pl. n. Ihami no ura, i. e., with *iha*, rock, where ivy, or other creeper, is abundant. See Lays 17, 46, also N. 2151, 2603. Or the m. k. may be *tsunu sa-hafu*, (where) creeping plants abundantly creep. According to Matsumura *tsuta* is properly Parthenocirsus tricuspidata.

Tsurugi-tachi, A straight, two-edged sword-blade (Korean?). Used as *homegotoba* with *mi*, self, person—sworded one, equivalent to later *samurahi*; *na*, as old word for *ha*, edge (compare *katana*, one-edged sword), homophon of *na*, thou; with *togishi* (*togu*, sharpen, whet, keen, pure), *togishi kokoro*, heart of keen and unflawed loyalty.

XX. Tsurugitachi, iyoiyo togubeshi, inishihe yo, sayakeku ohite, ki ni shi sono na so.

Ever bright as a keen sword blade has our name (Ohotomo) come down to us from the past.

IX. Tokoyohe ni, sumubeki mono wo, tsurugitachi, shi ga kokoro kara, oso ya kono kimi.

O he might be still dwelling in the Eternal Land, but foolishness was in the heart of yonder wight. Here the m. k is used with '*shi*'=wight—minding of two-edged sword (for 'the wight,' i. e., Urashima, is regarded as entitled to wear a sword).

The *tanka* is one of the *hanka* to Lay 105, the Ballad of *Urashima.*

XIII. chôka 140 ..... *tsurugitachi, saya yu nukidete, Ikako yama* ..... Here the first two *ku* are a complementary *jo* to Ikako regarded as *i-kaku*, i. e., *kaku*, strike, begin fighting; the whole would then mean, drawing sword from sheath and striking (*ikaku*=Ikako).

The rare use of the m. k. with the syllable *ki* in Hitsuki no miko, preserves the word *hi* as denoting an ancient form of sword (compare *hiyasu*, cut down with sword). See also Lays 23, 29, 105. Some other explanations of the use of this m. k. will be found in the Kotoba no Idzumi.

Tsutsuzhi-hana, Azalea bloom, used with *nihohi, nihohe*, be flourishing, bright, fragrant, &c., *tsutsuzhihana nihoheru kimi*, my lord fragrant (blooming, elegant) as an azalea blossom. So we have *kakitsubata nidzurafu imo*, my love, rosy as the iris flower, *murasakino nihoheru imo*, my love bright as the *murasaki* flower.

Tsuwe-tarazu (杖不足), less than a *jo* (ten feet). Used with *yasaka no nageki*, sighs eight foot (not ten foot) deep Comp. *momotarazu*. See *XIII chôka* 196.

Tsuyu-shimo-no (露霜). Dew and rime or hoar rost. Used with *oku*, lie, be on. Dew and rime alternately

pass into each other, hence with *oku* the m. k. may really mean, as either dew or rime lie on ...

II. chôka 16 ..... *tamamonasu, yorineshi imo wo, tsuyushimono, okite shi kureba* .....

As I leave behind (*okite*) my love who had been sleeping close to me as the drifting *mo* weed is wave-borne to sleep. Here *okite* is used in a secondary sense, the use of the m. k. being with its primary sense.

The use, therefore, is purely verbal and is based wholly on the equivoque. The m. k. is also used with *aki* (autumn) ..... *tsuyushimo no, aki ni itareba,* ..... coming to autumn-tide, dewy, rimy ..... ; with *kenaba, kenubeku, kè, sugi* in the sense of passing, vanishing—*keyasuki aga mi*, myself that so easily pass away, i. e., temporary, impermanent, as dew or rime, not only impermanent in themselves but in their states, constantly passing from one to the other. There is a good deal of fine and close observation of Nature (within narrow limits) in Japanese poetry which escapes notice unless the texts be carefully considered, especially in the later m. k. and their uses. I find that many if not most of the errors in my Prim. Texts are due to lack of this exacter study. See also Lays 16, 24, 48, 50, 92.

Uchi-agaru, uchi-noburu (打上), used with Saho (no kahara). As *uchi-aguru* (raise) the m. k. is applied to the place-name Saho, written 眞帆, true (i. e., full equipment of) sails—but were sails known in Manyô times? ; as *uchi-noboru* (stand erect) with Saho written 眞穂, true (ripe and erect) ear of grain. It is a verbal m. k.

VIII. Uchiaguru (noboru), Saho no kahara no, awoyagi ha, ima ha haru he to, nari ni keru ka mo.

The green willows in the bed of the Saho river! is it not that the time of spring hath come?

Udzura-naku (鶉鳴), [where] the quail's cry is heard.

IV. Udzuranaku, furinishi sato yo, omohedomo, nani so mo imo ni, afu yoshi mo naki.

From the days of the old home (Nara) where now the cry of the quail is heard did I love you, yet here (at Kuni, the new City-Royal) I cannot meet you.

Udzura-nasu, quail-like, used with *i-hahi-motohori* (not *ihahi*), wander creeping around like quail in the jungle.

II. chôka 24 ..... *nubatamano, yufuhe ni nareba, ohotono wo, furisake mitsutsu, udzuranasu, i-hahi-motohori* ..... when night black as pardanth berry falleth, gazing upon the shrine (of Prince Takechi) they (his retainers) wander like crouching quail .....

Uchi-hi-sasu (打日指), uchi probably=*utsutsu* 現 (visible). The m. k. is used as a *homegotoba* with *miya* (and its compounds, *miyako, ohomiya*), meaning sunbright, sunshiny, sunlit. Comp. "the sun shines fair on Carlisle's wa." See Lays 49, 66, 136, 168.

Uchi-nabiku (打靡), bend, droop, yield. Used with *haru*, spring, because in spring the young herbs and shoots are tender and drooping. Also with the place-name *Kusaka*—*kusa*=grass, herb.

II. Aritsutsu mo, kimi wo ba matamu, uchi-nabiku, aga kurokami ni, shimo no oku made.

Still, still will I await my lord, even, even until the hoarfrost shall whiten my loose and flowing (*uchinabiku*) tresses—i. e., outside the door on a chilly night when the hoarfrost falls. The *tanka* next preceding the above in the Manyôshiu is worth giving as the oldest ('tis said) in the Anthology—

Kakubakari, kohitsutsu arazu ha, takayama no, iha ni shi makite, shinamashi mono wo.

Reading *arazu ha* as=*aramu yori ha*—the meaning would be—Such is my love for my lord that rather than suffer its (jealous?) pangs would I climb a high peak and lay me down and die upon the bare rock. One may suppose the love was hopeless or beyond concealment. These *tanka* are by the Empress Ihahime (died 347, reign of Nintoku). Her rival Yatahime became Empress a little later. See Lays 51, 110.

Uchi-ta-wori (打手折), a *kariji* in part, *ta* being merely the intensitive prefix.

IX. Uchitawori, Tamu no yama kiri, shigemi ka mo,
Hosokawa no se ni, nami no sawakeru.

The roar of the waves of the flow of the Hoso river, is it not born of the mists that gather on Tamu's hill of many a winding track reminding—(the zigzag pass over the hill)? *Ori=ori-magaru*, bent upon itself, winding, zigzag. But there may be an inner (*fukumeru*) meaning. The tanka is addressed to Toneri no miko and hints that to the abundant grace of the prince the poet owes his rise from a slender (*hoso*) condition. *Tamu* may be the simple form of *tamafu* (bestow), as *yobu yobafu, ifu ihafu, nageku nagekafu* etc.

Uchi-yosuru (*yusuru*) 打 緑. Used phonetically with Suruga (province-name). Taking 緑 as a *kariji* one may read *yosuru* or *yusuru*, the allusion being to an etymology of Suruga, as *yusuri* (動) *Jaha*, land of rushing streams. Other fancies need not be noticed as too vague.

Uguhisu-no (鶯). The Japanese nightingale, *Cettia cantans*. Used with *haru*, spring.

X. Uguhisuno, haru ni narurashi or *kitarurashi, Kasuga-yama, kasumi tanabiku, yo me ni mirdomo.*

Even at night we may know Kasuga's hill by the mists that gather, and the song of the nightingale that heralds spring. Kasuga (*kasumi-ka*, misty days) is written 春日, spring-day. The sense of the m. k. is included in the translation.

Ukanerafu (窺良布), *ukagafu* watch, track (game), used with Tomi (hill-name)—*to-mi* (跡見) track game.

VIII. Kono woka ni, wo-shika fumi okoshi, ukanerahi, ka mo ka mo suraku, kimi yuwe ni koso.

Upon this hill have I roused the hart and tracked him, or this I do or that I do 'tis but to serve my lord. So Tsushima no Ason signifies his thanks for advancement at a feast held in the year of grace 738.

Uki-kusa-no (浮草), floating herbs, sea or water-weeds. Used with *ukite*, floating, drifting.

XI. Tokikinuno, kohi-midaretsutsu, ukikusano, ukite mo are ha, kohi-wataru ka mo.

Like an unravelled vestment I am all undone with love, like drifting water-weeds I drift along the tide of time and love, belike!

Uma-kori (味凝), the script is *kariji*, the m. k. is really *umaki-ori*,, fine-woven—it is a four-syllable m. k.

VI. chôka 72 ..... *umakori, aya ni tomoshiki* ..... *mi Yoshinu* ..... fair land of Yoshinu strangely beautiful—but the m. k. is applied to *aya* as homophon of 綾, a patterned or (later?) brocaded fabric—beautiful with the beauty of a fine woven fabric.

Uma-no-tsume, horse-hoof.

XX. chôka 260 ..... *umanotsume, Tsukushi no saki* ... . Cape Tsukushi of stamp (*tsuku*) of horse-hoof minding .....

Uma-saha-fu (味澤相), the script is *kariji*. An obscure m. k. used with *me* (contraction of *mure*, crowd, mass, etc). As good an explanation as any is to read it as *umashi* (味), *aha*; (粟), *fu*; 田, field of tasty (fine, fair) millet—but in *II. chôka* 26, *umasahafu, me koto mo tayenu* ..... *me* must mean, look, and *koto*, speech, and the m. k. is essentially a verbal ornament of *me* (*mure*) understood as *me*, look. Nevertheless we may add the idea and translate—glance and speech multitudinous as full field of millet. In *IX. chôka* 123 the m. k. is used with *yoru, hiru*. No sense can be made of this connexion, but the difficulty is got rid of by interpolating—*me koto no tayete, nubatamano, yoru hiru* .....

Uma-sake (*no-wo*) fine or sweet saké. Used with Miwa, pl. name as homophon of *mi-wa*, royal or sacrificial saké. Some say *mi-wa* is *kami-wa* and see in this expression the reason of the use of the m. k. with Mi(maro) pl. name, and Kamunabi, hill-name. The words *maromi*, lees, *mi*, dregs of

saké, *komi*, a sort of saké, *kamu* (*kamosu*), to brew are also adduced in explanation of the use of the m. k. *Kamu* means, to chew, and a connexion is traced by adventurous etymologists between the word and the Polynesian custom of chewing starchy roots in making *kava*.

In *XVI. chôka* 206 we have *kotosake wo, Oshitaru wo-nu yu*, from the little moor of Oshitaru (though *wo* may be merely a sort of *homegotoba*). Keichiu connects *koto* (harp) with *oshi* 押, and *sake* with *taru*, drip, drop; but others read the m. k. as *umasakewo*, fine saké *dropping* from its cask.

Umashimo-no (馬下), *kariji*, (味枕) *mana*, something delicious.

XI. Wagimokoni, ahazu hisashi mo, umashimono, abetachibana no, koke musu made.

So long, so long is it since I met my sister, my love, that thick the moss has grown on the sweet *kunembo*, orange bush.

Uma-zhi-mono (馬自物), like a pack-horse. Used with *naha toritsuki* lead with halter or bonds; *tachite tsumadzuki*, rise or start stumbling or pawing the ground (as a packhorse does). See *VI. chôka* 89, *XIII.* 157.

VI. Imogakado, Iriidzumikahano, se wo hayami, aga 'ma tsumadzuku, ihe 'mofurashi ni.

my horse boggles as I reach the banks of the swift stream of the Iriidzumi river, at home they will be thinking of me—the horse's hesitation proves the anxiety at home. For the m. k. *imogakado* (not rendered above) see *sub voce*.

Umi-wo-nasu (績麻成), hemp-yarn-spool.

VI. chôka 77 ..... *umiwonasu, Nagara no miya ni* ..... the application of the m. k. is to Naga as homophon of *naga*, long. So with Nagato.

Umore-ki-no (埋木), buried, underground, hidden (fossil?) wood. In Sendai such a fossil wood is found, out of which, as out of Irish bog-oak, various objects are fashioned.

VII. Makanamochi, Yuge no kahara no, umoregino, araharumazhiki, koto to aranaku ni.

Ah! must we not then ever keep our love as deep-hidden from men as a log buried beneath the bed of the channel of the Yuge river. For *makanamochi* (not rendered) see *sub voce.*

XI. Amata aranu, na wo shi mo woshimi, umaregino, shita yo so kofuru, yuku-he shirazute.

But one reputation, but one have I to lose, yet deep in my heart as a buried log lies my passion for thee and I know not what it may end in. To this *tanka* there is no *dai* or explanatory argument—the allusion seems to be to a love dreading publicity.

U-no-hana-no, hare-bush-blossom (Deutzia). Used with *sa-tsuki,* the 5th month, when the Deutzia is in bloom; also (phonetically) with *uki,* sad.

X. Unohanano, saku to ha nashi ni, aru hito ni, kohi ya wataremu, kata 'mohi ni shite.

To one whose heart openeth not to me as the flowers of the harebush open, shall I let my love go out to be unrequited! The m. k. is really an ornament only of *saku,* bloom.

X. Uguhisuno, kayofu kakine no, unohanano, uki koto are ya, kimi ga kimasamu.

Oh the pity of it, my lord cometh not, belike! The *jo* or preface to the m. k. (phonetic of *u* in *uki,* pitiable) is "the blossom of the harebush in the fence where the nightingale (*uguhisu*) passeth."

Usura-bi-no, like thin ice.

XX. Saho kaha ni, kohori watareru, usurabino, usuki kokoro wo, waga omohanaku ni.

I love her with a heart not weak as the thin ice that covers the waters of this Saho river. A dead friend or relative is lamented by a Princess (*oho kimi*).

Utsu-se-gahi (打背貝). The script is *kariji.* The m. k. means a kind of acorn-shell (Pollicipes) or *kamenote* (tortoise-paw-shell.)

XI. Sumiyoshi no, hama ni yoru chifu, utsusegahi, mi naki koto mochi, are kohime ya mo.

Not empty, I trow, is my heart of true love for thee, like the

shells men call tortoise-paws which the tide rolls in to rest upon the strand of Sumiyoshi.

Utsu-semi-no, written *kariji* 空蟬, empty cicada moult (the common *semi*). In *mana* it would be 現身, actual self of this, not of any past or future world, or of dreams. Hence the use of the m. k. with *inochi*, life; *yo*, age, this world; *hito*, man, person; *mi*, self, corporeal self.

XII. Utsusemino, tsune no kotoba to, omohedomo, tsugite shi kikeba, kokoro madohinu.

His words are those of this empty world, methinks if I still listen, listen to him my heart will be led astray (uncertain whether his words of love are true or not). Here the m. k. is applied to *tsune* as=*yo*. See also Lays 18, 26, 28, 50, 191, 251.

Utsu-so-(*wo ya shi*) 打麻 or 空苧, used with *umi*.

XII. Wotomeraga, umi-wo no tatari, utsuso kake, umu toki nashi ni, kohi-wataru ka mo.

Ever love I untiringly (*umu-nashi*). The *jo* leading up to *umu*, the homophon of which means, twisting, spinning (hemp-yarn), is "as the girls (*Wotomera*) spin the beaten hemp-yarn (*utsuso*) wound upon the spool-peg—or pegs—*tatari*. Comp. the next m. k.

Utsu-yufu-no (虚木綿)=*so-yufu*=*odamaki*.

IX. chôka 125 ..... *utsuyufuno, komorite maseba* .... secluded as in the hollow of a spool or cop of hemp-yarn. Or *utsu*(*ma*)*yufu* may be an allusion to the hollow of a *yama-mai*, cocoon, or again—but unlikely—the inner bark of the Broussonetia (*yufu*) beaten (*utsu*) made supple for weaving—as flax is.

Waga-inochi, my life. Used with Nagato no shima (*naga*, long).

XII. Wagainochi nagaku hoshikeku, itsuhari wo, yoku suru hito wo, mukuyu (or *torafu*) *bakari wo.*

Oh just to requite (or punish) him (a deceitful lover) who knows so well how to lie plentifully would that my days were long in the land!

Waga-seko-wo (我 勢 子). There are other scripts. The meaning is, 'my love, my spouse.' The m. k. is used with *na kose no yama*, Kosé's hill, do not ..... but reading *na kose*, the passage=cross not, I pray thee, my spouse. With *ide Kose yama* the use is analogous but the meaning reversed.

XVII. Wagasekowo, aga Matsubara yo, mi-wataseba ama wo tomedomo, tama mo karu miyu.

From amid the clump of pines—of tryst (*matsu*) with lover minding—long I gaze upon the sea (ama) until I nought perceive but the harvesting of the weeds of ocean. The tanka is one of ten composed on the departure of Ohotomokyô from Chikuzen for City-Royal—his boat is lost to sight and only the sea weed gatherers are visible on the strand.

Waga-tatami (吾 畳), my own mat. Anciently the whole floor of a house-place was not matted, each person, or at least the *ihenushi*, had his own mat more or less sacred to his use. The m.k. is used with the place-name Mihe no kahara Mihe being taken as=*mi-he*, three-fold (or *mi* may=the honorific *mi* or *ma*); *tatamu*=to fold or put things one upon another. Possibly the m. k. is merely phonetic with the syllable *mi*.

Wagimoko-ni (吾 妹 子), with or to my sister, my love. Used with Afusaka (hill-name)—*wagimoko ni afu*, meet my love; with *afuchi* (*ôchi*) *no hana* (Melia japonica); with *Afumi* (Ômi); with Ahazhi (*afu-aku-aka*), island-name. The m. k. is complementary to *afu*, meet.

XII. Wagimokoni, koromo Kasuga no, Yoshiki kaka, yoshi mo aranu ka, imo ga me wo mimu.

Oh that from Yoshiki's stream I might borrow its name (*yoshi*= good, excellent)—O fine to meet thee, dear—from Yoshiki's stream in Kasuga minding of some vestment (*koromo*) lent (*kasu*) to my love (*wagimokoni*). See also *XIII. chôka* 138, 199.

Wagimoko-wo.

I. Wagimokowo, Izani no yama wo, takami ka mo, Yamato no miyenu, kuni tohomi ka mo.

O the Peak of Izami—minding me of how (*isa*) I would fain see (*mi*) her—is it not lofty, yet is not the land of Yamato (where her home is—at City-Royal) a far land to be seen hence? The name Izami suggests the m. k., the height of Izami her inaccessibility, and its situation her remoteness (*miyenu ..... tohomi*). The Japanese etymology of Izami is characteristic. There was a hill, Sami, in Ise, and a bay, Futami, famous for a huge pine-tree. A Prince and Princess Sami had called the strand Mishiho hama and the hill Mishiho yama—hence the name Futami, 二見 or 二御; at the base of the hill was a brook 三水, *Sami*, which name became that of the hill. To it the prefix *i* need but be added, no great feat, and Izami is the result.

I. Wagimokowo, Hayami hama kaze, Yamato naru, awo matsu no ki ni, fukazaru na yume.

O winds that blow roughly on Hayami's strand—would I might soon see (*hayama*) my mistress (*wagimokowo*)—blow not so fiercely I pray upon the green (*awo*) pine tree (*matsu no ki*) that awaiteth me (*a wo matsu*) in far Yamato. The pine tree symbolizes his love whom he has left behind in Yamato.

XI. Wagimokowo, kiki Tsuga 'nu he no, nabiki nebu (or *shinahi*) *a ha shinubi yezu, ma naku shi 'moheba.*

O swa··ing *nebu* tree (Albizzia julibrissin) that swayeth (*nabiki*) on the moor of Tsuga—minding of what I ever hear of thee, my sister, my love (*wagimokowo kiki tsugi* for Tsuga) never can I win rest for ever my thoughts dwell upon my love. The m. k. seems to be really a phonetic one. See *ante shinahinebu.*

Waka-hisaki-no (若歴木). The script denotes the young *hisakaki* (Eurya japonica) or *Kunugi* (Quercus serrata). The m. k. is used phonetically with the phrase *waga hisa naraba.*

XII. Watarahi no, ohokata no be no, waka hisaki, waga-hisa naraba, imo kohimu ka mo.

O that she may still love me even if I be long absent.

The phonetic *jo* to *waga hisa* is *waka hisaki*, the young *hisaki* that grows by the waters of the great river of Watarahi.

Wakaki-ko-no, like a young child...*wakakikono hahita-motohori*, creep or crawl about like a little child.

Waka-komo-wo (弱 薦), a complementary m. k. ..... *wakakomowo Kariji no wonu*, the little moor of Kariji minding of the reaping (*karu*) of young rushes (*wakakomowo*) ..... the rushes were used for making mattings.

Waka-kusa-no, like young herbs—used with *nihita-makura*, thine arm as pillow fresh and tender as the young herbs (of spring); *waka tsuma*, spouse tender as the young herbs; *waka omohitsuki ni shi kimi*, here *waka* may apply to *kimi* or to *omohitsuki*, my love to whom my love clingeth as the young spring herbs (to any support).

XVI. Iyushishi wo, tsunagu kaha he no, wakakusano, mi no wakakahe ni, sa-neshi kora ha mo.

Ah where is she now whom I loved so well in the days when I was young—young as the soft spring herbs that grow by the river-side where one tethered the wounded deer (after the hunt)? In this version *wakakahe* is explained as in Keichiu's commentary, the *jo* to *wakakusano* may contain an allusion now unintelligible. See N. 3330.

XVII. chôka 224 ..... *wakakusano, ayuhi tadzukuri* ... . fashioning leggings (for travelling) of young reeds. See also K. v., vi.; N. 2524, 330.

Washi-no-sumu (鷲 住), eagle-haunted, a descriptive m. k. of Tsukuba no yama in Hitachi. See *IX. chôka* 113.

Wasure-kahi (忘 貝), oblivion-shell, a sort of clam? Used phonetically with *wasure*, forget.

I. Ohotomono, Mitsu no hama naru, wasuregahi, ihe naru imo wo, wasurete omohe ya.

O oblivion-shell that men find at Mitsu's strand—is oblivion of my sister, my love, whom I have left at home, thinkable indeed! For the m. k. of Mitsu see sub, *Ohotomono*.

Wata-no-soko (海底), sea-bottom, used with *oki*, deep-sea, open-sea, and compounds.

Wi-machi-tsuki (廿待月), the moon of the 18th night of the lunar month. The 17th is *tachi-machi-tsuki* and the 19th is *ne-machi-tsuki*. I suggest (merely) the following explanations: *Tachi* is moonrise after full (about 8.30 p.m.), *wi* is moonrise the next night (about 9 50 p.m.), and *ne*, moonrise the third night (about 11 p-m). *Tachi* may refer to a time when one is still up and about (in harvest), *wi* when one has returned home after the toil of the day, *ne* when one has gone to rest. The m. k. is used with Akashi no to (place-name). See *III chôka* 44. Perhaps the lay was composed on an 18th and the opportunity was seized of applying the m. k. to *akashi* as= *akashi*, which has various meanings, open, dawn, shine etc., to which the m. k. might be applied.

Womina-heshi (or *meshi*), the Valeriana scabiosaefolia, one of the salad vegetables of the Manyô age. Used with Saki (part of several place-names) as=*saku*, bloom, flourish. Wominameshi perhaps refers originally to women's vestments on which the plant was impressed to form a simple patten.

IV. Wominaheshi, Sakisaha ni ofuru, hanakatsumi, katsute mo shiranu, kohi mo shiru ka mo.

The translation will be found under *hanakatsumi*.

Woshi-tori-no, the *woshi* duck (Anas galericulata or mandarin duck), used phonetically as in ..... *woshitorino, woshiki aga mi ha, kimi ga manimani* ..., Alas for me—as my lord willeth.

Wotomera-ga, complementary m. k. to Sodefuru yama—minding of the waving (*furu*) of maidens' (*wotomera*) sleeves (*sode*), as summons or farewell.

Wotomera-wo=*wotomeraga*.

Ya-chi-hoko-no (八千桙), eight thousand (a host) of spears. Used with *kami*, god, deity. Yachihoko no kami is an *alias* of Ohonamuji no mikoto. See *VI. chôka* 97, also K ii.

Yahetatami, eight (many) fold. Used with Heguri no yama. See under *komotatami.*

Ya-ho-tade-wo (八穂蓼), eight (many) eared, *tade* (Polygonum sp). Used phonetically with Hodzumi, place-name. See *midzutade.*

Yake-tachi-no, forged and tempered sword-blade. Used with the syllable *to* in *to-kokoro,* tonami—*to* being regarded as equivalent to *togishi, togi, toshi,* polished, sharp, free from flaw (as a loyal heart is).

IV. Tayu to ihaba, wabishimi semu to, yaki tachino hetsukafu koto ha, karashi ya wagimi.

The explanation given of this m. k. in the above *tanka* is that *hetsukafu=hetsurafu* (comp. *nidzukafu=nidzurafu*), while *yaki-tachino* is read with *hetsukafu* as *he-tsukafu,* carry (sword) by side. The meaning of the *tanka* then will be—should our bond of love be snapt, what misery will be mine! again thou didst but flatter me, most cruel one! The value of the m. k. cannot be rendered in the translation. (There was a quarrel and a promise of *integratio* not fulfilled.

Ya-kumo-sasu (八雲刺) has much the same value as *yakumotatsu.*

III. Yakumosasu, Idzumo no kora ga, kurogami ha, Yoshinu no kaha no, oki ni nadzusafu.

Oh floating on the mid-stream of the Yoshinu river see the black tresses of the maid of many-*clouded* Idzumo. The drowned girl is a victim, doubtless, of love.

Ya-kumo-tatsu, eight (many) clouds arise—or coils of mist. Used with Idzumo. The real meaning of this m. k. cannot be determined. Idzumo is written 出雲, *idzuru-kumo,* clouds that come forth or appear, and with this signification the use of the m. k. is not unintelligible. See K. i., N. 1415; also note at end of this list.

Yaku-shiho-no, burning salt, i. e., produced in salt-pans over flame. Used with *karaki,* bitter, cruel, as love (*koki*) is in its pains.

Yamabuki-no, the blossom of the yamabuki (*Kerria iaponica*), used with *nihoheru imo,* my love elegant (fragrant) as the Kerria bloom; phonetically with *yamu toki mo nashi,* never ceasing, *yamu* being assimilated with *yama.*

Yama-kaha-no (山川), mountain stream. Used with *tagitsu* as in *yamakahano, tagitsu kokoro,* heart tumultuous as the waters of a mountain torrent.

Yama-kiri-no, mountain mist—*yamakirino, ibuseki aga mune,* gloomed my mind as with a mountain mist. *Yama,* hill, also denotes wild, waste country.

Yama-no-ma-yu, from amid the hills—*yamanomayu, Idzumo no kora,* the maid of Idzumo minding of clouds rising from amid the hills.

Yama-no-wi-no, mountain (or waste land), well etc. Such a well (or source) undigged by man would be shallow; hence the m. k. is used with *asaki kokoro,* heart shallow as a natural fount.

Yama-shita-no (山下), the lower slopes of, or under, the hills, ruddy in autumn with the changing leafage of the woods; hence the m. k. is used with *ake soho fune,* red-stained ship, red as the lower hill-slopes in autumn.

Yama-suge-no (山菅), the *bakumondo* (Liriope graminifolia—a sort of lily) that displays abundance of berries.

IV. Yamasugeno, ni naranu koto wo, ware ni yose, ikure-shi kimi ha, tare to ka nuramu.

Here the m. k. applies merely to the *mi.* As the lily that fruiteth not, so ask I whom he embraces whom the world gave to me. The translation is imitative. The m. k. is also used with *midare,* confused, disordered, the leaves of the plant being abundant and close; also, phonetically, with *yamazu* (不止), and with *sogahi ni neshiku.*

XIV. Kanashi imo wo, idzuchi yukame to, yamasugeno, sogahi ni neshiku, imashi kuyashi mo.

Alas! My sister, my love, whither wouldest thou—wouldest thou we turned our backs on each other like the leaves of the

yamasuge—would that not be misery to both, love! (The allusion seems to be to a lovers' quarrel. One may hope the *integratio* came about.)

Yama-tadzu-no, said to mean a woodman's axe. Used in some such way as to be applicable as a m. k. to *mukahe*, front, be opposite, to meet. There is however a plant (*yama*) *tadzu no ki* or *nihatoko* (Sambucus racemosa), of which the leaves are opposite (*mukahe*). See K. lxxxvii.

Yami-yo-nasu (闇夜成), ... *yamiyonasu, omohi-madohinu* ..... distracted (with love) as with the darkness of night.

Yami-no-yo-no, similar to the last—*yaminoyono, yuki-saki shirazu,* unknowing the future course (of things,) dark as night.

Ya-saka-tori (八尺鳥), a diving bird that takes very long (eight, many, feet or fathoms deep) breath.

XIV. Oki ni su mo, wo-kamo no mokoro, yasakatori, iki-dzuku imo wo, okite kinu ka mo.

Alas that I have left behind me my sister, my love, who will sigh fathoms deep, like the deep-breathed wild-duck of ocean.

Yasu-kaha-no, the river Yasu, phonetic m. k. of *yasu-i-mo-nezu,* no gentle sleep I know.

Yasumishishi, used with *Ohokimi,* great lord, Sovran etc. According to one script it would mean, who knoweth (*shishi,* i. e., governeth) all (*ya,* i. e., eight) the corners (*sumi*) of the land. The other and, to my mind,better explanation is *yasumi suru, yasunsuru,* make rest, bring to peace, *debellare.* A fairly good rendering is 'in peace and power who rulest.' See *I. chôka* 3, 10, 11, 12; K. xxviii, xcvi, xcvii, ciii and N. 2176, 2338, 2998.

Yoshiki-kaha, see under *wagimokoni.*

Yufu-tsutsu (*dzudzu*)—*no* (夕星), evening star, used with *yufube,* evening of evening star; *ke yuki kaku yuki,* hither thither move like the course of the evening star (alluding perhaps to its alternate appearances as morning and evening star).

Yufu-hana-no, like Broussonetia blossoms. But what are really meant seem to be artificial flowers made of *yufu*—bark stuff or paper—as customary to-day, *Hatsuse me no tsukuru yufuhana,* artificial *yufu,* paper flowers, made by the women of Hatsuse (Hassé).

Yufu-tatami, a fold of *yufu* cloth as an offering to the gods. Used with Tamuke no yama—*tamuke* means to offer up before the gods; with Tanakami yama, where the application of the m. k. is phonetic, *tatami* being regarded as a contraction of *tatanami* assonant with Tanakami.

Yufu-hi-nasu (暮日), ... *yufuhinasu, uraguhashi* ..... lovely as sun at even. Comp. *asahinasu.*

Yuki-zhi-mono, snow-like, used phonetically only with *yuki-kayohi,* go and come to and fro or often.

Yuku-fune-no (往船), ... *yukufuneno sugite* .... passing on like ships at sea.

Yuku-kage-no (往影).

XIII. chôka 146 ..... *yukukageno, tsuki mo he yukeba* ..... as the moon with its passing light further fareth. This intepretation, however, is doubtful. Motowori favours *aratamano,* afresh or anew, regarding 往 as a mistake.

Yuku-kaha-no, ... *yukukahano, suginishi hito* .... one who has passed away as the waters of a flowing river.

Yuku-midzu-no, like running water, used with *sugi,* pass on, away; *oto mo sayakeku,* pleasant murmur as of running water; *todome kane,* without halt like running water; *tayuru naku,* ceaselessly; *kaheranu,* returneth not.

Yuku-tori-no (去鳥), like passing (migrating) wild-fowl, used with *arasofu,* dispute, clamour, like flocks of migrating birds.

Yu-tane-maki seems to mean a plot of sown rice-seed, the young herbs are transplanted later.

XV. Awoyagino, yeda kiri oroshite, yutanemaki, yuyushiku kimi ni, kohi wataru ka mo.

The gist of this *tanka* is contained in the last two lines—I am

fearful lest I betray my lord for my lord, dare I then love him? (An answer to an inquiry as to what troubles her.) The three preceding *ku* lead up to *yuyushiku* through the syllable *yu of yukanemaki*, itself described in the first two *ku* as the plot of sown-rice defended (from evil influences) by the shoots cut from the green willows growing by the stream.

Note.—*Ma* often implies a sort of completeness; thus *ma-te*, both hands; *ma-kaji*, *ma-kai*, an equipment of oars or sculls; *ma-wake*, parting of two persons etc. *Ya* may be an old word meaning many, great, *ya*, eight, may have been the same word. Then *ya-chi-hoko*, great-hilt-halberd, would better apply as an epithet of Ohonamiji, *yakumotatsu*, as a m. k. of Idzumo—when we may find an allusion to the clouds or weather of mist, emerging through or above which the land would he first seen by the earliest Asiatic immigrants who made the Idzumo strand. Even *yasumishishi* might thus he more intelligible. 大住シシ (セシ).

I have used 'City-Royal' to designate the capital for the time being of Yamato, and 'Sovran' I venture to employ as a substantive for 'Mikado.' Neither 'Emperor' nor 'King' quite suit. In some cases a phonetic makura-kotoba has some of its literal meaning incorporated in the translations. Many of the tanka are ingenious attempts to illustrate a thought or sentiment, suggested by some person, scene or event, by the dexterous use of m. k. which are not mere 'supports' (chevilles) of the *ku* as often asserted. They all had at one time a definite meaning, well understood probably in the 8th century. Of many of the examples cited the text is probably corrupt. This is not to be wondered at, in view of the jumbled script in which they were originally written, and the consequent errors of copyists, decipherers, and translators into *yomi*. The inversions of syntactical order, the irregular syntax, the uncertain meaning of many words, the elliptical and suggestive style, the general indefinitness of an impersonal language, and one's ignorance of many of the allusions contained in the *uta* are reasons why in many cases an

absolute finality in interpretation is unattainable. I hope that resident members of the Society will use their opportunities to correct and amplify the foregoing attempt to explain the makura-kotoba of primitive Japanese literature.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

In the above examples—

Kohi-wataru, is best taken as=*kohite yo wo wataru;*
kohi is love, like, be fond of (persons or things);
omohi-sugu as=*omohite yo wo sugu*; thus *omohi sugubeki kimi* ..... whom I mourn with a life-long mourning.
are=(有), (吾), (荒) or (顯);
omofu=feel love, regret, sadness, care, hope, or simply 'think.' of its many compounds the sense is often idiomatic.

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